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THE

CONVOCATION BOOK OF MDCVI.

COMMONLY CALLED

BISHOP OVERALL'S CONVOCATION BOOK,

CONCERNING THE

GOVERNMENT OF GOD'S CATHOLIC CHURCH

AND THE

KINGDOMS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

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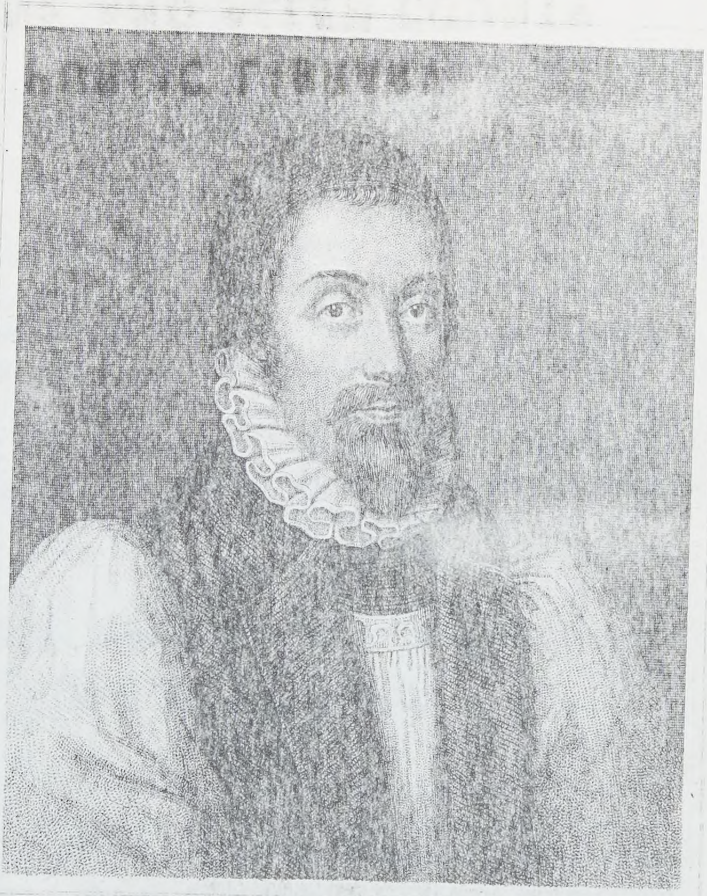

Engraved by B. Holl.

JOHN OVERALL.

Bishop of Norwich

8161

OXFORD:
PRINTED BY T. SHRIMPTON.

PREFACE.

KING James the First, on his accession to the throne of England, adopted temperate and conciliatory measures towards the adherents of the Church of Rome. In the speech which he made at the opening of his first parliament he assured them that he was not of a persecuting temper; and that, if the judges had formerly pressed the punishment for recusancy further than the laws intended, it was his desire that a better remedy should be adopted for that grievance[a]. Shortly before this, he had declared himself much indebted to Clement the Eighth, the reigning pontiff, for his kind offices and private temporal carriage towards him in many things; and that he would be ever ready to requite the same towards him as bishop of Rome in state and condition of a secular prince[b]. But the Gunpowder Plot (hastened, probably, by the severities inflicted upon the Romanists under colour of a recent Act of Parliament[c]) altered the aspect of affairs. Upon its discovery the parliament passed a statute requiring that all should participate in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the parish church at least once in the year, under a penalty of £20. for the first year's neglect, £40. for the second, and £60. for the third. It gave to the king the option of receiving from each recusant either a penalty of £20. monthly, or two thirds of his lands. An oath of alle-

[a] Works of King James, pp. 491, 492; Collier ii. 686; Kennett's Compl. Hist. ii. 670.

[b] Fœd. xvi. 573.

[c] 1 Jac. I. cap. 4. An act for the due execution of the statutes against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants. This act revived all the statutes, seven in number, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth against all manner of recusants.

giance was prescribed, the refusal of which involved the recusant in all the terrible penalties of a præmunire[d].

The Convocation which met in 1603 and continued its sittings amid many prorogations to 1610[e], employed itself in framing a book of canons, and the volume now printed. This latter was intended to serve a twofold object; to discuss and to settle the origin, not only of the civil polity, but also of the ecclesiastical. It had become necessary to counteract the doctrines respecting the secular government which had been promulgated by the Jesuit Parsons, and at the same time to refute the claims of the papal supremacy so strenuously advanced by Sanders[f]. The members of Convocation therefore applied themselves to frame a work which, as the title-page sets forth, was to treat of "the government of God's Holy Catholic Church and the kingdoms of the whole world."

But while thus occupied, their deliberations met with an interruption equally sudden and unexpected. The king, who was nervously sensitive upon every question which might in any way affect his prerogative, took alarm at their proceedings, and conceived that they had advanced doctrines inimical to his interests, or at the least had expressed themselves in a manner culpably unguarded; and he addressed the following letter[g] to Dr. Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, at that time a member of the lower house of Convocation[h].

[d] 3 Jac. I., cap. 4 and 5.

[e] Wake's State of the Church, p. 506, 507, 509.

[f] See Bishop Buckeridge, De potestate Papæ, p. 61.

[g] Welwood's Memorials, p. 32; Wilkins' Concilia, iv. 405. The original, as will be seen in the following note, was formerly in the possession of Bishop Burnet, and in 1691 was "in the hands of a Gentleman of the Temple," see "The vindication of a late pamphlet, entituled, Obedience and Submission to the present government demonstrated from Bishop Overal's Convocation-Book." (4to. Lond. 1691.) p. 35.

[h] Burnet in the History of His Own Time, (ii. 212, fol. 1734,) gives this account of the matter.—'There was a book drawn up by Bishop Overal, fourscore years ago, concerning government; in which its being of a divine institution was very positively asserted. It was read in Convocation, and passed by that body in order to the publishing it, in opposition to the principles laid down in that famous book of Parsons the Jesuit, published under the name of

"Good Doctor Abbot,

"I cannot abstain to give you my judgment of your proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as *rex in solio*, and *unus gregis in Ecclesia*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the crown nobody calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your brethren have said of a king in possession, (for that word, I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your canon,) concerns not me at all. I am the next heir, and the crown is mine by all rights but that of conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has sufficiently expressed my own thoughts concerning the nature of kingship in general, and concerning the nature of it, *ut in mea persona*, and I believe you were all of his opinion; at least none of you said aught contrary to it at the time he spoke to you from me. But you know, all of you, as I think, that my reason of calling you together was to give your judgments how far a Christian and a protestant king may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their own sovereign upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's time this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with arms and advice; and none of your coat ever told me that any scrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England you may know that it came from some of yourselves to

Dollman. King James the First did not like a Convocation entering into such a theory of politics: so he wrote a long letter to Abbot, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, but was then in the lower house: I had the original, writ all in his own hand, in my possession. By it he desired that no further progress should be made in that matter, and that this book might not be offered to him for his assent. There that matter slept, but Sancroft had got Overall's own book into his hands, so in the beginning of this reign, he resolved to publish it, as an authentic declaration that the Church of England had made in this matter; and it was published, as well as licensed by him, a very few days before he came under suspension for not taking the oaths. But there was a paragraph or two in it that they had not considered, which was plainly calculated to justify the owning of the United Provinces to be a lawful government. For it was there laid down that when a change of government was brought to a thorough settlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to as a work of the providence of God; and a part of King James's letter to Abbot, related to this.'

raise scruples about this matter. And albeit I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in subditos,* as in May last in the star-chamber upon the occasion of Hales his pamphlet, yet I never took any notice of these scruples till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours called on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and Spain; and the honour of the nation will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, especially after so much money and men spent in their quarrel. Therefore I was of the mind to call my clergy together, to satisfy, not so much me, as the world about us, of the justice of my owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not have done; and you force me to say I wish I had not. You have dipped too deep into what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii.* And whatever aversion you may profess against God's being the author of sin, you have stumbled upon the threshold of that opinion, in saying upon the matter that even tyranny is God's authority, and should be reverenced as such. If the king of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it; for you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority, if he prevail.

"[1] Mr. Doctor, I have no time to express my mind further in this thorny business. I shall give you my orders about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until then, meddle no more in it, for they are edge tools, or rather like that weapon that's said to cut with one edge and cure with the other. I commit you to God's protection, good Dr. Abbot, and rest,

"Your good friend,

"JAMES R."

It is clear that these canons did not obtain the royal assent, and therefore possess no authority, although they are

[1] From this point the letter was in the king's own hand.

not without their value as an index of the theological opinions of the Church of England at the period.

The text of the present edition is founded upon the following manuscripts.

A. The original copy drawn up under the inspection of Dean Overall, prolocutor of the lower house of Convocation, and attested by him at the end as having been thrice read and approved[k]. It is a folio volume, written with care and neatness upon paper; and, in general, in a good state of preservation, excepting that the tops of a few of the leaves at the beginning have been gnawed away by mice. This injury is at least as old as Sancroft's time, as corresponding blanks occur in his transcript. The first book consists of one hundred and five pages. With the second book a new scribe was employed, and a different system of arrangement adopted; each chapter being now written upon a separate gathering of paper, the first and last leaf of which were left blank, and the whole series, marked with the letters from A. to L. inclusive, were bound together. The third book varies from the two former in the total absence of canons, and in the signature of Overall being added after the '*placet*' at the end of each chapter.

Along with this manuscript are preserved three loose folio sheets of paper, which contain the corrections proposed by the members of the upper house of Convocation when the manuscript draught passed before them for revision. It is somewhat singular, however, that of the proposed alterations some are found inserted in the text of this manuscript. These corrections are adopted in the present edition, and the readings which they have supplanted are thrown to the bottom of the page.

This volume is preserved among the manuscripts belong-

[k] See p. 272.

ing to the episcopal library of Durham, (folio, 11.) It is not difficult to conjecture how it came there. Cosin, the founder of this library, had been secretary and librarian to Overall, and was with him at the time of his death; upon which occasion it probably came into his possession[l].

For the use of this highly-important manuscript, the editor offers his thanks to the Venerable the Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland, the official trustees of the Episcopal Library at Durham.

B. A small fragment of the first book, extending only to the end of the thirteenth canon[m]. It is a contemporary manuscript, in folio; and contains readings, some of which agree with the uncorrected readings of *A*, others are peculiar to itself, and in a third class it agrees with Bishop Barlow's copy, which will be presently described. The use of this manuscript has been permitted to the editor by the Dean and Chapter of Durham[n], to whom he begs leave to offer his thanks for their kindness.

C. A transcript made from the volume *A.* by Sancroft, probably at the time when as prebendary of Durham he obtained the loan of that manuscript from Bishop Cosin, his

[l] And yet there is a passage in a letter from Cosin, at that time prebendary of Durham, to Morton, Bishop of that see, in which he speaks concerning this book in terms which make the suggestion of the text somewhat doubtful. He writes as follows: 'I shall but trouble your Lordship with a few lines more, and make an end. Oftentimes have I heard it from my Lord Overall, when I had the happiness to live with that rare and excellent man, that when he was Prolocutor of the Convocation House, A.D. 1606, there was a certain book, made, as I remember, by Archbishop Bancroft, or some other, at his appointment, then proposed and read before the clergy, who formally gave their '*placets*' to it, to have it published and printed in the name of the whole synod. It was a book, if my memory fail me not, asserting the just authority of the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and setting forth the unjust authority claimed and usurped by the Bishop of Rome over kings and all other Bishops in the world. I think there be few living now, besides your Lordship, that were members of that Convocation; and I would gladly receive your Lordship's knowledge of that work, by whom it was penned, how far it passed in the Synod, and what became of it at last?' This letter is dated 8 August, 1648. Morton's answer, which would have thrown much light upon the subject, is unfortunately not extant.

[m] See p. 18, note [x].

[n] It is marked Hunter's MS. folio, 27, and is described in the Catalogue as 'Inferences drawn from the Old Testament.'

diocesan. From this copy it was afterwards printed, the licence being signed by Sancroft himself shortly before his deprivation of the revenues of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury[o]. This transcript is of no great importance. It passed, along with the Archbishop's other books, into the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge[p], by the liberality of the Master and Fellows of which (more especially of the Rev. R. J. Bunch, one of the Fellows) this manuscript was lent to the editor.

Besides these authorities, a most important manuscript formerly belonging to Bishop Barlow, and now deposited in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, has been collated for this edition. The various readings which it supplies will be found at the end of the volume.

It contains the first book only, extending as far as p. 78 of this volume. Bishop Barlow has written in it a conjecture respecting the date of the Convocation in which these canons passed, whence it appears that he was unacquainted with the Durham manuscript, which contains a note of the precise year, namely 1606[q]. At the end of the volume, immediately following the last canon, are these memoranda and signatures.

"The said 36 Chapters, with the Constitutions made upon them, have passed with one consent both the Convocation Houses, and so are approved." "R. Cant."

"The said 36 Chapters, with the Constitutions made upon them, have been diligently read and deliberately examined,

[o] The licence is dated 24 June, 1689. The variations which it supplies from the text of the present edition are distinguished in the notes by the letter *D*.

[p] Marked, I. 2. 24.

[q] 'Quo anno coacta est hæc synodus mihi certo non constat; cum tamen ex subscriptionibus patet Ric. Bancroft fuisse Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, sequitur synodum hanc inter annos 1604 and 1610, sub Jacobo rege celebratam fuisse: siquidem Rich. Bancroft electus est [archi]episcopus Cantuariensis anno 1604, moritur 1610.'

and thereupon have likewise passed with one consent in the Convocation House of the province of York.

Jo. Bristol, præses Convoc. Ebor[r].	Edward Maplet.
Guil. Goodwin, proloc.	Richard Snowden.
Christopher Lyndley.	Rob[t]. Whittell.
Leo. Lowther.	Hen. Bankes.
Tho. Dodson.	Hen. Rebank. [?]
Ri. Harwood.	Chr. Nelson.
Clement Colmore.	Richard Slater.
H. Swinburne.	Roger Bellwood."

On the fly-leaf of the manuscript is the following memorandum in Archbishop Laud's handwriting.

"A tract proving the supremacy of kings and chief civil governors above the High Priest, from the Creation to the end of [the] Jewish estate.

"These 36 Chapters, with the Constitutions made upon them were with joint consent approved in the Synods at [? of] Canterbury and York in Archbishop Bancroft's time; as appears *in fine libri hujus*.

"I have heard there was a second part to prove the like, from Christ to this present. But I could never see it, nor could I tell whether it ever passed the Convocations, as this did. "W. Cant."

For the collations of this manuscript, as well as for much assistance rendered to the work generally, the Editor tenders his thanks to the Rev. W. F. Audland, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College.

[r] Here Archbishop Laud has added the following note. 'This was the now bishop of Worcester, Dr. Thornborough, 1640, who was then bishop of Bristol and Dean of York. 'W. Cant.'

The Title and Preface to the former edition are as follow.

Bifhop OVERALL'S

Convocation-Book,

M DC VI.

Concerning the

GOVERNMENT

OF

God's *CATHOLICK CHURCH,*

AND THE

KINGDOMS

OF THE

Whole WORLD.

LONDON,

Printed for *Walter Kettilby,* at the *Bishop's Head* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1690.

AN

Advertisement

TO THE

READER.

THAT Convocation *in which the* Acts *and* Canons (*now Printed*) *pass'd, was first call'd* An. 1603. I^mo Jac. *and continued by Adjournments and Prorogations to* 1610.

The Three *following* Books *are publish'd from a Copy carefully and faithfully transcribed from the* Original MS. *which was* Bishop Overall's, *and drawn up by him; after whose Decease, it came into the Possession of* D^r. John Cosin, *sometime his Secretary, and after Lord* Bishop *of* Duresm, *who bequeathed it, with other his Books, both Printed and Manuscript, to the Publick Library, by him founded at* Duresm, *for the use of that* Church, *where* (*it is suppos'd*) *it is yet to be seen.*

The First *of these Three Books was also heedfully compar'd, and in some casual defects, supply'd from another* MS. *which from the Attestation of Archbishop* Bancroft (*who there presided*) *at the end thereof, under his own hand, seems to have been the* Original, *that then pass'd the* Upper-House *of Convocation; And after his Decease, it came to his Successors the Archbishops of* Canterbury. *And among them, to Archbishop* Laud, *as appears under his own hand-writing, in the last Page of it. And is now, or was lately, in the Possession of* D^r. Barlow, *the present Lord Bishop of* Lincoln.

In the First *and* Second *of these Books, there were several* Amendments *made by the* Upper-House *of Convocation; all placed at the end of Bishop* Overall's MS. *and according to such* Amendments, *inserted in their proper places, is the following Book Printed.*

Note, That the *Numeral Letters* in the Margin, throughout the *First* Book, refer to the Pages in Bishop *Overall's Original MS.* at *Duresm,* as in the second Page following, *ii. p. in MS.* means the second Page in that *MS.* & *sic de cæteris.*

In the First Book of that MS. *Placet* is set at the bottom of every Page, and in the Printed Copy that word is sometimes misplaced by a line or two; as on the *Margin, p.* 10. *Placet* is set against *l.* 8. which should have been against *l.* 10.

CONCERNING THE

GOVERNMENT OF GOD'S CATHOLIC CHURCH,

AND THE

KINGDOMS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAPTER FIRST.

BOOK I.

Amongst the rest of the titles and attributes of God in the Scriptures, which are common to the blessed Trinity, these following are three, viz. Creator, Lord of lords, and King of kings; which be there applied as well to the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the second Person in the said blessed Trinity, as to God[a] the Father, and to God the Holy Ghost. Agreeably whereunto, and not otherwise, our chief purpose being to imitate the Scriptures, in setting out and describing the Deity and dignity of our Saviour Christ, by His Almighty power, and universal government of all the world, as heir of all things, and head of His Church; we hold it fit to begin with His Divine power of creation: and thereupon in the sense aforesaid do affirm that He in the beginning did create both heaven and earth; and that amongst the rest of the creatures which He then made, He created our first parents, Adam and Eve, from whose loins mankind is descended[b].

1 Tim. 6. 15. Rev. 19. 16. Joh. 1. 2, [3.] 10. Heb. 1. 3, 10. Col. 1. 16. Prov. 8. [22–31.]

[a] 'Amongst those attributes, and names of God, which are common in the Scripture to all the blessed Trinity, are these, to be the Creator and Governor of the world, the Lord of lords, and King of kings, which be there applied as well to the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the second Person in the sacred Trinity, as to God.' The above passage, being wanting in MS. *A*, is supplied from *B*, with the exception of the marginal references, which are taken from *C*.

[b] 'From whose loins it is also manifest in the Scripture that the whole race of mankind is descended.' *B*.

CANON I.

If any man therefore shall affirm with any Pagan, Heretic, Atheist, or any other profane persons, which know not, or [believe] not the Scriptures, either that heaven and earth [had no beginning, or that] the world was made by angels, or [the devil[c]; that the world was not] otherwise made by Christ, than [as He was an instrument of] God the Father for the making [of it; or that He did not, as God,] create our said parents, Adam [and Eve[d], he doth greatly err[e].

PLACET EIS.]

CHAPTER II.

To him that shall duly read the Scriptures[f], it will be plain and evident that the Son of God, having created our first parents, and purposing to multiply their seed into many generations, for the replenishing of the world with their posterity, did give to Adam for his time, and to the rest of the patriarchs and chief fathers successively before the flood, authority, power, and dominion over their children and offspring[g], to rule and govern them; ordaining by the law of nature[h], that their said[i] children and offspring[j] (begotten and brought up by them) should fear, reverence, honour, and obey them. Which power and authority before the flood, resting in the patriarchs, and in the chief fathers, 3
because it had a very large extent, not only for the education

[c] *Pro*, made by inferior angels and the devil, *lege*, made by angels or the devil. *Auth. Correct.* *B.* omits the words 'or the devil.'

[d] The authorized corrections require us to remove these words, 'or that He did only create the superior parts of our bodies, and the devil the inferior,' the exact position of which in the Canon does not appear.

[e] In fine canonis deleantur hæc verba, The curse of God be upon him. *Auth. Correct.*

[f] *Pro*, the book of Genesis, *lege*, the Scriptures. *Auth. Correct.* 'To him that will carefully peruse the Scriptures.' *B.* The reading of the text is from an addition made by red chalk in the margin of *A.*

[g] *Pro*, their children and nephews, *lege*, their children and offspring. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.*

[h] *Pro*, and ordained by the very rules of reason and law of nature, *lege*, ordaining by the law of nature. *Auth. Correct.* 'Ordaining by the very law of nature.' *A.*

[i] 'said' is struck through in *A.* with red chalk, as if to be removed.

[j] *Pro*, that their said children and nephews, *lege*, that their said children and offspring. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.*

of their said[k] children and offspring, whilst they were young, but likewise for the ordering, ruling, and governing of them afterwards, when they came to men's estate. And for that also it had no superior [authority, or power, over, or above] it on earth, appearing in the Scriptures, although it be called either patriarchal, regal, and imperial, and that we only term it *potestas patria;* yet, being well considered how far it did reach, we may truly say that it was in a sort[l] *potestas regia;* as now, in a right and true construction, *potestas regia* may justly be called *potestas patria*[m].

CANON II.

If any man shall therefore affirm that men at the first, without all good education, or civility, ran up and down in woods, and fields, as wild creatures, resting themselves in caves, and dens, and acknowledging no superiority one over another, until they were taught by experience the necessity of government; and that thereupon they chose some amongst themselves to order and rule the rest, giving them power and authority so to do; and that consequently all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, was first derived from the people, and disordered multitude; or[n] either is originally still in them, or else is deduced by their consents naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him, and depending upon Him[o], he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

[k] This word is struck through in *A.*

[l] *Pro*, it was *vere potestas regia, lege*, it was in a sort *potestas regia. Auth. Correct.* and *B.*

[m] The greater portion of this last sentence is destroyed in *A*, the text given above is supplied from *B.* The *Auth. Correct.* for 'above it on earth, although it was called,' require us to read, 'above it on earth, appearing in the Scriptures, although it be called,' which accordingly has been adopted; whereas *B.* reads 'in the earth, that is mentioned in the Scriptures, although it was not then called either.' This reading appears to have been adopted from *A.* which has 'in the earth, that is . . . . then called either.' . . . In *C.* it stands thus. 'And for that also it had no superior authority, or power, over or above it on earth, appearing in the Scriptures, although it be [not] called either patriarchal, regal, or imperial, and that we only term it *potestas patria;* yet, being well considered how far it did reach, we may truly say that it was in a sort *potestas regia;* as now in a right and true construction, *potestas regia* may justly be called *potestas patria.*

[n] 'And either.' *B.*

[o] In fine canonis, post hæc verba, naturally from them, *adde*, and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him, and depending upon Him, he doth greatly err. *Auth. Correct.* and accordingly inserted in *A.* and *B.*

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

By the sin of our first parents, Adam and Eve, both they, and in them all their posterity, being so fallen from God, as that they were not [able by any natural powers,] or faculties in them, to discharge [their duties towards Him, or rightly] in any sort to know Him, as [they ought, unto salvation, or serve] His Divine Majesty[p], it pleased [Almighty God in mercy (besides the law of nature left in them) to propound[q]] unto them another kind [of doctrine than nature could ever have] taught them, viz. the [mystery of salvation through our Lord and] Saviour Jesus Christ; how the Son [of God, who created them, when they] were not, should in fulness of [time take upon] Him their nature, and reconcile to God again as many as should believe in Him; the ground of which doctrine God Himself did lay down as the foundation of the Church of Christ, when He said, that 'the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head.'

[Gen. 3. 15.]

CANON III.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that our first parents after their fall, or consequently any of their posterity, could serve or please God truly by any natural powers, or faculties, that were left in them after the said fall; or that the mystery of salvation through Jesus Christ was not a secret, whereunto our corrupt nature could not attain; or that our Saviour Christ is not the promised seed that should break the serpent's head; or that any can possibly be partakers of everlasting life without faith in Him[r], he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

[p] *Pro*, to reverence as they ought, or serve, *lege*, to know Him as they ought unto salvation, or serve His Divine Majesty, &c. *Auth. Correct.* In *A.* and *B.* the word 'duly' is inserted before 'serve.'

[q] *Pro*, in mercy to propound, *lege*, in mercy (besides the law of nature left in them) to propound, &c. *Auth. Correct.* The clause is omitted in *B.*

[r] In fine canonis, *pro*, life that do not steadfastly believe in Him, *lege*, life without faith in Him. *Auth. Cor.* and *A.* and *B.*

CHAPTER IV.

As the Son of God, having [created mankind, did ordain by the law of] nature, and [light of reason, that there should be some amongst them] furnished [with lawful power, and civil authority to rule and govern the rest, in things belonging to this natural life, and civil society[s], according to the true rules[t] both of nature and reason: so did He also, according to the supernatural doctrine of the Gospel[u], not only ordain that there should be some likewise in His Church to rule and govern it[x], but also] gave them another kind of power, superiority, and authority, which is termed Ecclesiastical, both for the teaching and instructing of His people in the mysteries hid from nature, concerning their salvation through the Seed of the woman, and for the better direction and government of them in the service of God, touching their duties to God and their neighbours. The institution of which ecclesiastical calling, and authority, as also the manner of the worship of God, through the blessed Seed, from the fall of our first parents till the flood, although, besides their sacrifices, prayers, and preaching[y], they be not expressly[z] set down in the Scriptures[a]; yet it is not to be doubted, but that, first, Adam for his time, and afterwards the heads of every family of the faithful, were not only[b] civil governors over their kindred, but likewise had the power and execution of the priest's[c] office; and that they were themselves instructed and taught from God, as they afterward did instruct and teach such as were under them in the said mysteries of

Gen. 4. [25. 26.] 2 Pet. 2. 5.

[s] *Pro*, to govern the rest *in civilibus et naturalibus*, &c., *lege*, to govern the rest in things belonging to natural life and civil society. *Auth. Correct. A.* and *B.*

[t] *B.* reads 'true rules and laws both of nature and reason; so did he also not only ordain.'

[u] *Pro*, supernatural and spiritual doctrine of the Gospel, *lege*, supernatural doctrine of the Gospel. *Auth. Correct.*

[x] *Pro*, be some amongst those who were selected and evocated from the rest, and did bear the name of the Church, but, *lege*, be some likewise in His Church to rule and govern, but. *Auth. Correct.*

[y] *Pro*, besides their sacrifices, *lege*, besides their sacrifices, prayers and preaching. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[z] *Pro*, be not so plainly and expressly, *lege*, be not expressly. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[a] The authorized corrections require the removal of the following words, which appear to have originally been inserted in this place: 'As are the civil governors, their authority, and the rules of reason and nature whereby they govern.'

[b] *Pro*, the heads of every family were not, *lege*, the heads of every family of the faithful were not only. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[c] *Pro*, had an accession thereunto of the priests, *lege*, had the power and execution of the priests. *A.* and *B.* read 'priestly.' *Auth. Correct.*

BOOK I. man's restitution, through the promised Seed, by faith[d], and in the right worship and service of the true God.

PLACET EIS.

CANON IV.

[If any man shall therefore affirm] that the Son of God having [from the beginning a Church upon earth,] did leave[e] them till the [flood without priests, and priestly] authority to govern and [instruct them in those ways of their salvation[f], and in the right manner of the worship and service of God; or that they might teach them[g]] any other doctrine in that behalf, than that which they had received from God[h] Himself, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER V.

As all mankind, from the creation of the world till the flood, descended from the loins of Adam; so, after the flood, have they all descended from the three sons of Noah, Sem, Cam, and Japhet.

Gen. 5. 1, &c.
Gen. 9. 19.
Gen. 10. 32.

CANON V.

And therefore if any man shall affirm with any Pagan[i], or profane Atheist, either that there was not any such general deluge, or that there is any nation or people in the world that doth not descend from one of the said three sons of Noah, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

[d] By faith, *adde*, and the right worship and service of the true God. *Auth. Correct.* The addition stands in *A.* and *B.*

[e] *Pro*, from the beginning chosen to Himself a certain number to be partakers of the merits of His passion, did leave, *lege*, from the beginning a Church upon earth, did leave. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[f] 'Salvation hidden from nature and in the right manner,' *B.*, of which reading there are traces in the mutilated fragments of *A.*

[g] *Pro*, of their salvation, or that they taught, &c., *lege*, of their salvation, and in the right manner of the worship and service of God, or that they might teach them. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* The word 'lawfully' is inserted before 'teach' in *B.*

[h] *Pro*, than God Himself revealed unto them, *lege*, than they had received from God. *Auth. Correct.*

[i] *Pro*, with any Prometheus, Pagan, &c. *read*, with any Pagan. *Auth. Cor.* and *A.* and *B.*

CHAPTER VI.

BOOK I.

Noah lived, after the flood, three hundred and fifty years, and saw his children's children wonderfully multiplied; during which term of years he was the patriarch, [or chief governor over them; ruling and] ordering of them by virtue [of that superiority, power, and authority[k]] which was given unto [him by Almighty God [l], and was also warranted by] the laws [of nature and reason. Touching this patriarchal, or in] effect, [regal government of Noah, there is more expressed in the] Scriptures, [than there was before the flood, of the power and] authority [of Adam, or of any of the chief fathers and rulers that were descended from him. For] now there is mention made by God Himself of punishing blood by blood, which was done by the sword of justice, being the chief ensign and warrant of supreme and regal authority. Also the extent of this right and authority was so large, as that he lawfully [m] distributed the whole world unto his said three sons, and their posterity. So that his said three sons, after him, were by the ordinance of God (the chief author of the said distribution) made three great princes [n]; and also the sons of those three great princes (of whom about seventy are named) were the heads and governors of the families and nations that descended from them [o], according to their tongues, in their several countries [p].

[Gen. 9. 28.]

Gen. 9. 6.

Rom. 13. 4.

Gen. 9. 27. [19?]

Gen. 10. 25.

[Gen. c. 10.]

CANON VI.

If any man shall therefore affirm either that the civil power and authority which Noah had before the flood, was by the deluge determined[q]; or that it was given unto him again by

[k] The text of *B.* is here followed: in *D.* it stands thus; 'authority of the sword of justice which was given.'

[l] *Pro*, of a sword by God, *lege*, of the sword of justice by God. *Auth. Correct.*

[m] [Epiphan. in Anchorate. Luther. in Gen. Pererius in Gen. Func. Chron. Sulpit. Sever. Sebast. Geron. Chro. lib. 2. Selnec. in Gen. cap. 10, Georg. Fabric. in Gen. ch. 10. et Nic. Gibbons in Gen. 10.] see note A at the end of the volume.

[n] *Pro*, besides the Holy Ghost by Noah did order and appoint that the sons &c., *lege*, and also the sons of those three great princes, of whom about seventy are named, were the heads &c. *Auth. Correct.* 'And accordingly also their sons, in number about seventy-two, became the heads and governors of the families and nations that should descend of them, according.' *A.* and *B.*

[o] *Pro*, that should descend of them, *lege*, that descended from them. *Auth. Correct.*

[p] The authorized corrections require us to cancel 'as it is expressed in the Scriptures, of Sem, &c. *usque ad* held,' but the exact position of the clause is not indicated.

[q] *Pro*, by that deluge extinguished, *lege*, by the deluge determined. *Auth. Correct.* 'By that deluge determined.' *A* and *B.*

BOOK I. his sons and nephews; or that he received from them the sword of his sovereignty; or that the said distribution did depend upon their consents, [or received from them] any such authority as without the same [it could not lawfully] have been made; or that this power, [superiority and authority, and all the] parts thereof, which Noah's [three sons and their children had,] (as is before declared,) [did not proceed originally from God, or] were not properly [His ordinances, but that they had the same] from the people, [their offspring, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.]

CHAPTER VII. 9

It is also certain that as the civil magistrates, and their authority, continued after the flood for the government of mankind according to the laws of God and nature[r], that thereby they might be kept in order, touching their duties both towards God and their neighbours, agreeably to the said laws, written afterwards more fully, by God[s] Himself in two tables: so did the priesthood and authority ecclesiastical also by the like ordinance of God, continue especially amongst the offspring of Sem, both to govern them ecclesiastically, and to instruct them in the mysteries of their salvation through the blessed Seed of the woman, according to the doctrine of the Gospel, which was from time to time in divers manners delivered by the Son of God unto them. This priestly office, and ecclesiastical authority, was yet joined[t] (as before the flood,) with the office of the chief fathers, and civil governors. Noah himself was both a
Gen. 8. 20. prince and a priest[u]; [he built altars,] offered sacrifices,

[r] *Pro*, both of God, reason and nature, *lege*, of God and nature. *Auth. Correct.* 'According to the laws and appointment both of God, nature, and reason.' *A.* and *B.*

[s] *Pro*, written afterwards by God, *lege*, written afterwards more fully by God. *Auth. Correct.* 'Written afterwards by God Himself.' *A* and *B.*

[t] *Pro*, was yet added and annexed, as before the flood, to the office, *lege*, was yet joined, as before the flood, with the office &c. *Auth. Correct.* . . . . 'Authority remaining still united, as before the flood, in the persons of the chief fathers.' *A* and *B.*

[u] The words 'during this continuance of his priesthood' are required to be cancelled by the authorized corrections. It is probable that they stood in this place. The word 'both' is omitted by *B.*

and [taught the Church, after the flood, three hundred and fifty-three[x] years,] all that which he [had learnt from his fathers[y], concerning the creation of the world, the fall of man, and of his restitution by Christ, and generally, all that did concern necessarily, either civil societies and government, or ecclesiastical assemblies[z] and authority, not omitting the very ceremonies.] After Noah, the chief fathers, Sem, [Abraham, Isaac, and] Jacob did execute that office, God Himself renewing unto them this promise of salvation through the blessed Seed[a]; and not only confirming the same to Abraham and his posterity[b] by the sacrament of circumcision, but likewise teaching and instructing them in that heavenly mystery, sometimes by His own voice, and sometimes by visions, and divers other ways, whereof the Scriptures make more plain mention than they do of the delivery of the same evangelical doctrine before the flood.

Gen. 9. 28.

Gen. 17. 10.

CANON VII.

If any man shall therefore affirm either that the priestly office, and authority ecclesiastical, which Noah had before the flood, was by that deluge determined[c], or that it was by the election of his offspring conferred again upon him[d]; or that Sem, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were neither priests, nor had any ecclesiastical authority, until they were chosen thereunto by their children and nephews; or that the priesthood and ecclesiastical authority were not the [ordinances of God, for the] governing and instructing of the Church, [according to

[x] *B.* reads 'three hundred and fifty years.'

[y] *Pro*, from his father Lamech, who had been instructed by Adam himself, *lege*, from his fathers. *Auth. Correct.* In *B.*, 'learned from his father Lamech and Mathuselah, who had been instructed by Adam himself, concerning.'

[z] *Pro*, ecclesiastical conventions, *lege*, ecclesiastical assemblies. *Auth. Cor.* and *B.*

[a] *Pro*, promise, through the blessed Seed, of salvation, *lege*, promise of salvation through the blessed Seed. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[b] *Pro*, confirming the same by the Sacrament, *lege*, confirming the same to Abraham and his posterity by the Sacrament. *Auth. Correct.* Instead of 'posterity' *A.* and *B.* have 'seed.'

[c] *Pro*, deluge extinguished, *lege*, deluge determined. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[d] *Pro*, again unto him, *lege*, again upon him. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* In *B.* it is 'unto him.'

BOOK I. the will and] directions of God Himself delivered [and revealed unto them[e], as is aforesaid, he doth] greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER VIII.

[As before the flood Cain and his] posterity were opposite to the posterity [of Seth, and might therefore generally have] been called the Church[f] Malignant; so fell it out after the flood in the generations of Japhet, but especially of Cham, against the posterity of Sem, in whose lineage the true worship of God, through the blessed Seed, was especially continued: and not that only, but in like manner as the children of Seth in process of time provoked against them 11
Gen. 6. [3, 11.] the wrath of God by corrupting their ways, and following in their conversation the generations of Cain, and were in that respect, all of them, with the rest of Cain's offspring, justly
Gen. 7. [21—23.] punished and drowned by the flood, saving eight persons, (Noah and his wife, Sem, Cham, and Japhet, and their three wives,) so did the posterity, not only of Cham and Japhet, as well before as after the[g] confusion of tongues, and the death of Noah, but likewise the offspring of Sem (who were called more effectually to the knowledge of the mysteries of Christ, and right service of the true God) [leave the ways of Noah[h]] and Sem[i], and gave just [occasion to Almighty God (had He not bound] Himself by His [covenant to the contrary) to have
Gen. 10. 8. drowned them] all again. [Nimrod, descended of Cham, not contenting himself with the patriarchal or regal mild government, ordained of God by the laws of reason and nature, became a tyrant and lord of confusion; and by histories[k]] it is apparent, that within few ages [after the death] of Noah

[e] *Pro*, God Himself revealed unto them, *lege*, God Himself delivered and revealed unto them. *Auth. Correct.* In *B.*, 'delivered unto them.'

[f] *Pro*, and might generally have been called after a sort the Church, *lege*, and might therefore generally have been called the Church. *Auth. Correct.* In *B.*, 'and might have been called.'

[g] *Pro*, after the death of Noah and confusion of tongues, *lege*, after the confusion of tongues and death of Noah. *Auth. Correct.* 'As well before as after the death of Noah, but likewise.' *A.* and *B.*

[h] *Pro*, of Christ, leave the ways prescribed them by Noah and Sem, *lege*, of Christ and right service of the true God, leave the ways of Noah and Sem. *Auth. Correct.* 'And service of the true God.' *A.* and *B.*

[i] 'leave the ways taught them by.' *A.*

[k] *Pro*, by profane histories, *lege*, by histories. *Auth. Correct.* and *B.*

his sons, great barbarism and confusion fell among their generations, through their pride and dissoluteness, in that they thought scorn to be governed, either civilly or ecclesiastically, as God Himself, by Noah, had ordained[l], or to be ruled[m] otherwise than as they list themselves: and touching the service of God, and the ecclesiastical authority, they mingled with true religion many false worships, and chose priests among themselves to serve God after their own fashions; or rather they devised to themselves many gods, and found out priests accordingly, such as were content to train them up in those kinds of impiety. In Chaldea itself and the places adjacent, the children of Sem were all of them almost grown to be idolaters; [insomuch] as God Himself, to keep a remnant more carefully, [that should through] the 12 public profession of His name, be [partakers of His mercies in] Christ, called Abraham with his [family from the habitation of his] fathers, to become a [stranger in the land of Canaan.

Josh. 24. 2. Gen. 11. 31, and 12. 1.

CANON VIII.

If therefore any man shall affirm that] the said posterity of Noah his [children did well in altering either] the manner or form of civil government, which God had appointed, by bringing in of tyranny or factious popularity; or of the ecclesiastical, by framing unto themselves a new kind of priesthood and worship after their own humours; or that it was lawful for such as then served God, upon any pretence to have imitated their examples in either of those courses, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER IX.

It is apparent in the Scriptures, that although God was not pleased that the issue of Jacob's children should, by the

[l] *Pro*, by Noah had prescribed, *lege*, by Noah had ordained. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.* and *B.*

[m] *Pro*, through pride the people thrust themselves in many places into the interest of the civil magistrates, thinking scorn to be ruled, *lege*, or to be ruled otherwise. *Auth. Correct.* The cancelled reading stands in *A.* and *B.*

BOOK I.

example of the sons of Noah, grow up to become the heads of so many several nations, but continuing together, should make one people and nation, to be ruled and governed by the same laws and magistrates: yet it seemed good to His heavenly wisdom, that in so great a people as He foresaw should[n] descend from Jacob's children, no one tribe or family should continue [charged both with[o] the regal and] ecclesiastical functions; [and therefore Jacob[p] making way to the fulfilling of the] will of God herein, did [take just occasion, moved thereunto by the] Spirit of [God, to deprive his eldest son Reuben of his interest by birthright in both those prerogatives, to be disposed afterward by God upon other of his brethren. Now after Jacob's death, the former thereof, viz. the sceptre,] in process of time, fell to [Judah, as Jacob before had] prophesied; and the other also, viz. the priesthood, was afterwards given to Levi by God's ordinance[q].

Gen. 49. 8.

CHAPTER X.[r]

After Jacob's death, till Moses was sent to deliver the children of Israel out of Egypt, there is little in the Scriptures touching either the civil or ecclesiastical government. [It appeareth, that Joseph being a great prince in Egypt, by the king's authority, whilst he lived, was chief amongst his brethren[s]: but after his death, through the tyranny of the kings of Egypt, which God suffered to lie heavily upon them for many years,

[n] 'As should descend.' *D.*

[o] 'Both with the civil (or regal) and.' *D.*

[p] 'Jacob, very well knowing the will of God.' *B.*

[q] The greater portion of this chapter is destroyed in *A.* from 'both with the regal,' until within a few words of the conclusion, but it is here printed from the authorized corrections; which introduce it without specifying the readings for which it was to be substituted. 'To foreshew that his eldest son Reuben should be deprived of his birthright, whereby he was to lose both the civil government over his brethren, and the prerogative of the priesthood. The former whereof, viz. the sceptre.' *B.*

[r] In *A.* and *B.* the ninth canon here follows.

[s] 'It is apparent that Joseph, being appointed by Pharaoh a great prince and governor over all Egypt, was consequently, whilst he lived, the chief ruler under the king over his brethren and all their issue. But within a short time after his death, their servitude daily increasing, the civil authority which any of the tribes had, was very small.' *B.*; which apparently, from the few words that remain, has been the reading of *A.* The authorized corrections require the removal of the words 'which continued the space of years,' the position of which is not obvious.

the civil authority, which any of the tribes had, was very small; there was such jealousy of their number, (which daily increased above all ordinary expectation,) as it is not likely that the kings successively would suffer any great authority to rest in them;] howbeit, we think they had some[t], either the chief heads of the tribes generally[u], or of the tribe of Ephraim and Reuben, (for it may be, Jacob's prophecy of Reuben's losing the prerogatives of his birthright was not presently executed,) which did in their civil affairs, appertaining to themselves, bear some chief sway amongst them[x]. And touching the priesthood, although the people were then generally much polluted with idolatry, yet therein also they had some, most likely the firstborn[y], who although they durst not there offer sacrifices to God, as they should in that servitude[z], yet some of them (we doubt not) instructed the people in matters concerning the promises of the blessed Seed, and performed, as they might, the other offices of their priesthood, although many of the people, and of the priests, as it seemeth, were then greatly polluted with idolatry[a].

Josh. 24. 15. Ezek. 20. 8.

CANONS IX, AND X.[b]

IX. If any man therefore shall affirm either that the uniting of the children of Jacob into one nation, or the severing of the civil and ecclesiastical functions (the prerogatives of birthright) from Reuben the first-born, and dividing of them from one person, was made by themselves[c];

[t] The authorized corrections require us to adopt the present text, which indeed stands in *A.* and *B.*, for 'howbeit we doubt not but that either the,' and also that the word 'peradventure' (which does not occur in *A.* or *B.*) should be removed.

[u] The authorized corrections give the reading of the text instead of 'of the tribe of Ephraim and Reuben, which did in their civil affairs,' as it stands in *A.* and *B.*

[x] Corrected from 'bear the chiefest sway then.' The reading of the text is found in *A.* and *B.*

[y] An authorized correction from 'and touching the priesthood, the same continued in the firstborn,' as in *A.* and *B.*

[z] So required to be corrected from, 'who although they durst not offer sacrifice in that servitude,' which yet is not the reading of *A.* and *B.* which stands thus, 'who although they durst not offer sacrifices to God publicly in that servitude,' &c.

[a] In *A.* and *B.* the canon marked X. here follows.

[b] The present arrangement and text are according to the authorized corrections; in *A.* and *B.* Can. IX. follows Chap. IX.

[c] Or that the division of the priesthood from the real [regal, *B.*] authority, having been before united in one person, was made by Jacob's sons themselves, or by the rest of his offspring,

BOOK I.

X. Or that their servitude in Egypt was unjustly suffered to lie upon them so long by Almighty God; or that they being His Church, He left them destitute of such comforts of direction and instruction as were necessary, those times considered, for their civil or ecclesiastical estate; or that the people took then upon them the appointing of the heads of their tribes and families, or the choice of their civil superiors, or of the priests; or that the example of those wicked kings may be any lawful warrant for any other king so to oppress the people, and Church of God, he doth greatly err[d].

PLACET EIS.

11 Ca. vel nunc 10. *Auth. Corrections.*

CHAPTER XI.

15

When the time came that God in mercy was pleased to deliver the children of Israel out of Egypt, and to place them in the land which He had promised them, He raised up His
Deut. 33. 5. servants, Moses and Joshua, to take that charge upon them; and accordingly Moses being made their prince, or (as the Scripture speaks) their king, did not only by God's appointment and assistance lead them out of Egypt, but governed them (being six hundred thousand men on foot, besides women and children) forty years by his authority in the wilderness; and Joshua likewise succeeding Moses in the same princely power[e] and authority, did, after many difficulties, bring them into the land of Canaan, and gave them lawful possession thereof. So that, although formerly the children of Israel were kept in such great servitude and bond-

not without their choice, or that Jacob himself in taking of both from his eldest son, or [as] dividing the one from the other, as aforesaid, did commit any sin, or that he had not authority from [God] so to do; he doth greatly err. PLACET EIS. *A.* and *B.*

[d] If any man, therefore, shall affirm either that this servitude was unjustly laid upon them by Almighty God; or that they, being His Church, were destitute of such comforts of instruction and government, as were, those times considered, necessary for them; or that the people took upon them the choice either of their civil superiors, or of their priests; or that the examples of those wicked kings may be any lawful warrant for any other king so to oppress the people, and Church of God, he doth greatly err. [PLACET EIS *A.*] *A.* and *B.*

[e] The authorized corrections require the above reading to be substituted for 'succeeding Moses in the same regal power.' The correction is in the text of *A.* and *B.*

age, whilst they were in Egypt, as notwithstanding their number, they were no way able, like a free people, to lift up their heads: yet now they are knit together in one body, and settled as a particular state[f] and free nation in their own country, being ruled and governed successively, after a mild and temperate manner, first, by Moses in the wilderness, (as is aforesaid,) and then by Joshua in Canaan, whilst he lived.

CANON XI.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt by their own strength, and not by God's especial direction and mighty power; or that it had been lawful for them (not warranted by God) to have departed thence as they did[g], without licence first obtained of king Pharaoh[g]; or that Moses and Joshua were not called to that high authority by God Himself, but received the same from the people, as depending upon their choice; or that Dathan and Abiram (descended from Reuben) can be justified in challenging of Moses, that he took too much upon him, in executing only that authority which God had given him, he doth greatly err[h].

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XII.

12 Canone 13. *Auth. Corrections.*

As Almighty God took order for the settling of His people in the land of Canaan, and established a princely authority to rule and govern them civilly, so was He no less careful of His Church. For howsoever the priesthood was disposed of before this time, yet now it[i] is apparent in the Scriptures,

Exod. 28. [1]. Levit. 8. [1-14.] Num. 1. [47.] and 3. [3. 6. &c.]

[f] *Pro*, as a particular kingdom, *lege*, as a particular state; and so it is in *A.* and *B.*

[g] 'Or that it had been lawful for them to have departed thence without licence' is the reading of *A.* and *B.*, which is here amended by the authorized corrections.

[h] In this chapter the corrections require us to read 'had been by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' instead of, 'had been by their father Jacob, and Joseph;' but no such passage occurs.

[i] 'Howsoever Jacob's will was executed before this time, concerning the priesthood, yet' is the reading required to be amended, as in the text, by the authorized corrections, while *A.* and *B.* read, 'For howsoever the priesthood was disposed of before the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, yet it is apparent . . . . .

BOOK 1. that the same was after settled in the tribe of Levi; and Aaron was made, by God's appointment, (for the better government of the Church,) the Chief and High Priest; the whole priesthood being assigned to his children and their offspring, as well to succeed him in the said highest place, as also to execute the other inferior functions belonging to priests; and the rest of the tribe of Levi were to attend other ecclesiastical services.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XII.

17

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the tribe of Lebi was assigned by the people, to undertake the said ecclesiastical offices; or that Aaron and his posterity were chosen by the people to be their priests; or that they were not chosen directly by God Himself; or that the people had any lawful interest at any time afterwards, either to choose their priests, or (being appointed of God, as is aforesaid[k]) to deprive them of their places; or that Corah, of the tribe of Lebi, can be justified in saying that Aaron took too much upon him, thereby repining either that Aaron was rather made High Priest than he himself, or that the priesthood was annexed to Aaron's posterity, whereas the rest of the Lebites were to serve in inferior places, he doth greatly err[l].

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XIII.

Num. 27. 18. Before Moses' death, God had appointed Joshua to succeed him, but in Joshua's days He appointed none to follow him immediately: whereupon, after his death, the Israelites were[m] left without a chief head, or prince to govern them[n]. They

[k] 'Or they being.' *D.*

[l] In fine Canonis 'peradventure' deleatur. *Auth. Corrections.*

[m] 'Were then and often afterwards left.' *A.* and *B.*

[n] *A.* and *B.* read as under, but the alterations require the text to stand as given above. 'Which thing was done, not for that God ceased to care for them, or utterly neglected them, but to these ends rather, that they might find by experience what it was to want a chief governor, and feeling the manifold inconveniences thereof, might

18 had then remaining their particular judges and officers appointed by Moses, at Jethro's counsel, in their several tribes; as also the general senate of seventy elders, ordained by God, upon Moses' complaint, over all the nation. Yet there fell very great disorders and confusions amongst them, for want of a chief judge and governor, whereby they might see their own disabilities and errors, and find by experience what it was to want a chief governor; and furthermore be moved when they were in distress, to flee unto God, and depend only upon Him for the raising up of one from time to time, to deliver and defend them. And it is apparent that the people, shortly after Joshua's time, falling most strangely into gross idolatry, and being from time to time, during the history of the judges, very grievously afflicted by the bordering nations and such as dwelt amongst [o]them, when they found themselves still unable to withstand their enemies using any great force against them; then they had (for the most part) recourse to God by prayer, who did at such times appoint one for their prince, chief captain and ruler, to deliver them from their said enemies; we say 'for the most part,' because sometimes they attempted some matters of importance without[p] seeking any chief governor from God, as at one time the people of Sichem presumed to choose them a prince of their own after Gideon's death, which turned both to his ruin and to their destruction. And it is[q] here generally to be observed, that when there was the greatest liberty amongst the Israelites, during the time from Joshua till Saul, (whatsoever the people thought of their own courses,) the disorders and idolatry in those days were ascribed by the Holy Ghost to the want of judges, chief rulers or kings, amongst them, who should have reformed those enormities,

Judg. 2; 11; 13.

Judg. 9.

Judg. 17. 6; 18. 1; 19. 1; 21. 25.

be moved to depend wholly upon the Divine Providence for the raising up of one from time to time, to deliver them in their great distresses, and defend them from their enemies; and chiefly for the chastising of them for their unthankfulness, idolatry, and many other grievous enormities. For it is very evident that the people after Joshua's time falling most strangely into gross idolatry, were from time to time ....'

[o] And it is also as manifest that when they found. *A.* and *B.*

[p] *Pro*, they attempted to make war without any chief governor from God and at one time, *lege*, they attempted some matters of importance, &c. as in text. *Auth. Corrections.* . . . they attempted to make wars without seeking of any chief governor. *A.* and *B.*

[q] *Pro*, and it is moreover to be observed, *lege*, and, it is here generally to be observed. *Auth. Corrections.* And it is also to be observed. *A.* and *B.*

BOOK I. not only in them, but likewise in the priests themselves; if they did not[r] their duties, especially in suppressing of idolatry, as they should have done.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XIII.

19

If any man therefore shall affirm either[s] that the Israelites fell not into many evils and disorders, by being left destitute of a certain chief governor after Joshua's death; or that when God raised up judges to rule and govern them, the people's consent was necessary thereunto; or that the said judges, being once appointed by God to those places, received their[t] authority in that behalf from the people; or that the fact of the Sichemites may lawfully be imitated by any Christian people, in so choosing[u] to themselves a king or judge, according to their own humours; or that the want of kings, princes, and rulers in any country, is not the mother of disorder and confusion, he doth greatly err[x].

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XIV.

It is manifest in the Scriptures, that Moses (directed by the Spirit of God) did foresee that the time should come when the Israelites being quietly settled[y] in the land of

[r] *Pro*, the priests themselves who, for aught that appeareth, did not, *lege*, the priests themselves, if they did not. *Auth. Corrections.* The uncorrected reading is preserved in *A.* and *B.*

[s] *Pro*, either it was not expedient for the Israelites to be left destitute of a certain governor after Joshua's death, as the case stood, or that when God &c. He expected the people's consent, *lege*, either that the Israelites fell not into many (&c. as in text.) *Auth. Correction.* But *A.* and *B.* read, 'If any man therefore shall affirm either that it was not just with God, or not expedient for the Israelites to be sometimes left destitute of a supreme and certain governor after Joshua's death, (their sins so deserving,) or that when God raised up judges to rule and govern them, He expected the people's consents, or that the said judges being once appointed by God to those places, received any authority in that behalf from the people,' &c.

[t] *Pro*, received any authority, *lege*, received their authority. *Auth. Corrections.* 'Received any authority.' *A.* and *B.*

[u] *Pro*, Christian people in choosing, *lege*, Christian people in so choosing. *Auth. Correction*, and *A.* and *B.*

[x] MS. *B.* here ends.

[y] *Pro*, that when the Israelites were quietly settled, *lege*, that the time should come when the Israelites being quietly settled. *Auth. Correction.* The MS. *A.* reads, 'that the time should come that the Israelites.' The following emendation follows, but the exact

Canaan, should be governed by kings after the manner of other nations. And therefore Almighty God did set down by Moses's pen the duty of all kings, and the rules[z] whereby they ought to govern. Jacob also (being illuminated by the same Holy Spirit) did not only foretell that it would come to pass that the tribe of Judah should bear the sceptre, and that the kingdom, or government of Judah, should be held by succession, according to the manner of other nations; but likewise, that the said sceptre or government should not be taken away from that tribe until the coming of Christ. And it seemeth that the people were not altogether ignorant of this foreseen alteration; when finding divers wants and confusions amongst them after the death of one judge, before God was pleased to appoint them another, they first rashly offered to Gideon, their prince, that his children and offspring should succeed him in that government. And afterwards, being weary of depending upon God's pleasure, and misliking the rule of Samuel's sons[a], they urged him undutifully and unseasonably, that they might have a king to rule over them as other nations had: meaning thereby principally (as we suppose) that such their kings might by succession govern them; so as one being dead they might still have another. We say, that they urged Samuel to this purpose undutifully and unseasonably; and that thereupon Saul was appointed to be their king: because otherwise, if they had expected God's good pleasure and time, and contented themselves with His care over them, in raising up (when He thought meet) their judges to govern them, they should have found shortly after, that the prophecy of Jacob should have been fulfilled, and that God would have given the sceptre of Judah into the hands of David, and of his posterity according to their desire[b].

BOOK I.

Deut. 17. 15, 16, &c.

Gen. 49. 10.

Judg. 8. 22.

1 Sam. 8. 5.

1 Sam. 9. 17.

PLACET EIS.

locality to which it refers cannot be traced. *Omittantur hæc verba*, although Almighty God, *usque ad* yet, *inclusive*.

[z] 'Rulers,' *A. incorrectly*.

[a] *Pro*, and fearing the likelihood that Samuel meant, *usque ad* misliked, they, *lege*, and misliking the rule of Samuel's sons, they. *Auth. Corrections*. 'And misliking the government of Samuel's sons, they.' *A*.

[b] The authorized corrections require the following emendation, which cannot be exactly traced, the MS. *A*. not having preserved the original form of the text: *Delentur hæc verba*, in their weak judgments.

BOOK I.

CANON XIV. 21

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the people of Israel did not grievously sin in being weary of God's immediate election and appointment of their chief governors[c]; or that the people's preposterous haste did any way prejudice the dignity and authority of Saul's regal power, or afterwards of the sceptre of Judah; or that the people[d] then had in themselves any authority to set up a king over them, (for then they would not have been so earnest with Samuel to make them a king,) or that after David's advancement to that kingdom, he was not as truly called thereunto by God Himself, as Aaron was to the[e] priesthood; or that David's posterity had not by God's ordinance[f] as rightful an interest to succeed him in his said kingdom, as either Aaron's sons had to succeed him in the priesthood, or Moses, Joshua, and the rest of the judges, notwithstanding that God Himself did choose, [illegible] named them particularly, had in their governments; or that the people then had any more authority to have withstood either David, or any of his posterity from being their king, than they had to have repelled either Moses or Joshua, or any of the rest of the judges, whom God by name did appoint to gover[illegible] them, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XV.

It is manifest in the Scriptures, that the kings in the Old Testament (notwithstanding that they had their kingdoms by succession) were as strictly bound to the observation of God's laws in their government, as Moses, Joshua, or any other the

[c] *Pro*, of God's immediate election of their governors, because &c., *usque ad* succession, or that, *lege*, of God's immediate election and appointment of their chief governors, or that. *Auth. Corrections.* 'And appointment of their governors, or that.' *A.*

[d] *Pro*, or that the people did then once imagine that they had in themselves any authority, *lege*, or that the people then had in themselves authority to set up. *Auth. Corrections.* The unaltered reading is preserved in *A.*

[e] The MS. *A.* here faultily omits the word 'the.'

[f] 'Appointment' has been first written, but it is struck through, and 'ordinance' is written above it in *A.* by the same hand.

judges or princes, elected, named, and appointed by God Himself. They knew well, as Jethro said[g], that it was impossible for themselves to hear[h] and decide all the causes and controversies that might happen in their kingdoms: and by Moses' example were not ignorant that they might have and appoint[i] judges to govern under them, not only in every tribe, but generally over all their kingdom; and therefore they did therein accordingly follow the example of Moses, being approved by God Himself: no way either diminishing their regal authority, or purposing to puff up their subjects with a conceit of any their own interest in government[j], which they had not from or under them; but thereby ordering their kingdoms[k] with such a temperate and fatherly moderation, as was most agreeable for the government of God's people.

BOOK I.

[Exod. 18. 18.]

[Exod. 18. 21, 22.]

PLACET EIS.

CANON XV.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the kings in the Old Testament were not bound as strictly to observe the
23 laws of God in their governments, as were Moses, Joshua, and the rest of the judges; or that they had any greater liberty to do what they list, than the others had; or that they had no authority, by the example of Moses, and of all the rest of their predecessors in their princely government, to delegate and appoint such judges and governors under them, as the other princes formerly under them had appointed; or that because the said kings did imitate the said princes, in appointing such judges to assist them in the government of their kingdoms, therefore their governments were to be judged rather aristocratical than truly monarchical, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

[g] *Pro*, they know as well as Jethro, *lege*, they knew well, as Jethro said, that. *Auth. Correction.* The correction has not been made in *A.*

[h] 'have and decide,' *MS. A. incorrectly.*

[i] *Pro*, might appoint judges, *lege*, might have and appoint judges. The MS. *A.* reads, 'might appoint and have judges.'

[j] *Pro*, conceit of any interest in government, *lege*, conceit of any their own interest in government. *A.* follows the unaltered reading.

[k] *Pro*, but thereby composing their kingdoms, *lege*, but thereby ordering their kingdoms. *Auth. Corrections*, which the MS. *A.* follows.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XVI.

When God first ordained civil magistrates and gave them authority, His meaning was, that the people whom they were to govern should be subject unto them. From the beginning of the world, till Moses' time, whilst the people of God that professed His true worship were governed by that authority, which was *Potestas Patria*[l], and in a sort *Regia;* their children and nephews were bound by the law of nature[m], to honour, reverence, and obey them. God having raised up Moses to deliver the children of Israel out of Egypt, and to govern them afterwards as their king or chief ruler[n]; they promised him that they would hear him, and do those things which he in the name of God should command them. Being in the wilderness, his own sister Miriam, for using some undutiful speeches against him, was stricken by God with an exceeding great leprosy; and so odious was the murmuring of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their confederates, as the Lord caused the earth to open, and to swallow some of them quick, and the fire to consume the rest. Joshua succeeding Moses, the people professed their subjection and obedience unto him, saying, 'All that thou hast commanded us, we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go; as we obeyed Moses in all things, so will we obey thee. Whosoever shall rebel against thy commandment, and will not obey thy words in all that thou dost command him, let him be put to death.' During the reign of all the judges, though the people are noted for many great enormities, yet we do not find that they rebelled, or shewed any great disobedience against them, whom God had set over them to rule them[o], except the particular murmuring and opposition of the Ephraimites, against Gideon and Jephtha, at their first en-

Deut. 5. 27.

Num. 12. 10.

Num. 16. 32. [v. 35.]

Josh. 1. 16, 17, 18.

[Judg. 8. 1, &c.]

[l] *Pro*, which was *vere potestas patria et regia, lege*, which was *potestas patria*, and in a sort, *regia. Auth. Corrections*, which the text of MS. *A.* follows.

[m] *Pro*, by the laws both of reason and nature, *lege*, by the law of nature. *Auth. Corrections*, and *A.*

[n] *Pro*, as their king, they made a covenant with him that, &c. *lege*, as their king or chief ruler, they promised him that they &c. *Auth. Corrections* and *A.*

[o] *Post hæc verba*, Set over them to rule them, *adde*, except the particular (as in the text.) *Auth. Corrections.* This addition is not in *A*, which reads, 'to rule them, which He Himself did not severely revenge when the people had kings,' &c.

BOOK I.

trance, upon conceit they had been contemned; which opposition God punished with a great overthrow of them. When the people had kings, according to the manner of other nations, to order and govern them, their subjection was rather increased than diminished, according to[p] Samuel's description of the king's (claim or) manner of ruling, which should reign over them, to command not only over the persons of his subjects, but also over their goods: which manner of ruling or dealing, by any king, without a just cause, as it was tyranny; so to deny it, when the necessity of the king and state did require it, according to the laws of the kingdom, was a great neglect of preserving the public good, and a high degree of disobedience. Besides, it is generally agreed upon that obedience to kings and civil magistrates is prescribed to all subjects in the fifth commandment, where we are enjoined to 'honour our parents.' Whereby it followeth, that subjection of inferiors unto their kings and governors, is grounded upon the very law of nature; and consequently that the sentences of death, awarded by God Himself, against such as shewed themselves disobedient and incorrigible[q] to their parents, or cursed them, or struck them, were likewise due unto those who committed any such offences against their kings and rulers, being the heads and fathers of their commonwealths and kingdoms; which is not only apparent by way of consequence, but likewise by example, practice, and precept; as where Shimei is judged to die for cursing of David, the Lord's anointed[r]; where David himself, appointed by God to succeed king Saul, would not be induced by any persuasions to lay violent hands upon his master the king; and where it is said, *Principi populi tui non maledices;* and again, *Ne maledicas regi in corde tuo:* to which purpose much more might be alleged.

[Jud. v. 12. I. &c.]

[v. 6.]

1 Sam. 8. 11.

Exod. 20. 12.

[Exod. 21. 15, 17.]

1 Kings 2. 9.

1 Sam. 24. 7.

Exod. 22. 28.

Eccles. 10. 20.

PLACET EIS.

[p] *Pro*, Samuel's description of the king's interest not only &c. *usque ad* disobedience, *lege*, Samuel's description of the king's claim or manner (as in the printed text.) Besides, &c. *Auth. Corrections.* The MS. *A.* reads, 'diminished, as Samuel told them. Besides, it is generally,' &c.

[q] *Pro*, disobedient to parents, *lege*, disobedient and incorrigible to their parents. *Auth. Corrections.* 'Incorrigibly disobedient to their parents.' *A.*

[r] *Pro*, David *Christum Domini*, *lege*, David the Lord's anointed. *Auth. Corrections* and *A.*

BOOK I.

CANON XVI.

If any man therefore shall affirm that it was lawful, in the Old Testament, either for children or nephews, to have been disobedient to their fathers, being their chief governors, from the creation till Moses' time; or afterward for the children of Israel, either under Moses, Joshua, the judges, 26
or their kings, to have been disobedient to them in their lawful commandments, or to have murmured, or rebelled against them; or that it was, in those times, more lawful unto subjects, for any cause whatsoever, either to curse their princes, kings, or civil governors; or to bear arms against them, or to depose them from their kingdoms or principalities, or to lay violent hands upon their persons, than it was in the said times lawful upon any occasion for children either to have cursed their parents, or to have rebelled against them when they did reprove or correct them, or to have withdrawn themselves from their subjection, saying unto them (they being private men,) We will be no more your children, or you shall be no more our fathers; or (bearing civil authority over them) We will depose you from your government over us, and will be no longer ruled by you; or to have offered any violence unto them, or to have beaten them, and much less to have murdered them, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XVII. 27

When God appointed princes, judges, and kings, to reign over His people, the manner usually was, that they had notice of it[s]; thereby to conform themselves to obedience. Moses and Aaron acquainted the Israelites with God's pleasure for their deliverance out of Egypt by their service, agreeably to His promise formerly made to Abraham: and they cheerfully, and with great thankfulness, submitted themselves to be ruled by them. God having appointed Joshua

Exod. 4. 30.

[Gen. 12. 7, &c.]

[s] *Pro*, that they might have notice of it, *lege*, that they had notice of it. *Auth. Correct.* The text of MS. *A.* follows the correction.

to succeed Moses, the same was signified by Moses to the Israelites, and they willingly protested their obedience unto him. Likewise no sooner did the Lord assign judges to defend and govern them, but presently they followed and obeyed them. Upon the people's requests, Samuel having anointed Saul for their king, when the same was made apparent unto them, either by casting of lots, or by answer from the Lord[t], they shouted when they saw him, and said, 'God save the king.' King David being anointed by Samuel at God's appointment to succeed king Saul, and after Saul's death coming thereupon by God's direction to Hebron, the tribe of Judah presently anointed him again for their king, and yielded themselves to be governed by him. Seven years after (all which time, king David had wars with Ishbosheth, Saul's son) the rest of the tribes came unto David, and acknowledged that God had ordained him to be their governor[u], king David growing old, and having appointed from God his son Solomon[x] to be anointed king in his own lifetime; when the people knew that Zadok the priest had so anointed him, they forthwith upon the blowing of the trumpets[y], said all with one voice, 'God save king Solomon.' Afterwards also the like course was held upon the death of every king, to make his successor known to the people. Sometimes they were so addicted unto new kings, as they expected no further circumstance, but submitted themselves to their government: and sometimes it was held fit for the young princes to imitate king David's example, by kind usage, and loving words, to knit more firmly their subjects' hearts unto them.

Num. 27. 18. Deut. 34. 9. [Judg. 7. 24; 11. 11, &c.]

1 Sam. 10. 24. 1 Sam. 16. 13.

2 Sam. 2. 4. 2 Sam. 5. 1, &c.

[2 Sam. 3. 1.] [2 Sam. 5. 1.]

1 Chron. 28. 5. 1 Kings 1. 34.

1 Kings 1. 39.

28

1 Kings 12. 7.

PLACET EIS.

[t] *Pro*, when the same was made apparent unto them either by casting of lots or by Urim, &c., *lege*, by casting of lots, or by answer from the Lord. *Auth. Correct.* The MS. *A.* reads, 'either by casting of lots, by Urim and Thummim, or other answer.'

[u] *Post verba*, he made a covenant with them, *quæ sequuntur, scilicet*, either he would &c., *usque ad* and loving king, *deleantur.* The MS. reads, 'to be their governor, he made a covenant with them, either (as it is supposed) that he would not revenge their following of Ishbosheth, or that they performing thenceforward the duties of good subjects unto him, he would use them in all respects as became a just and loving king. King David growing old,' &c.

[x] *Pro*, having appointed his son Solomon, *lege*, having appointed from God his son Solomon. *Auth. Correct.* Having appointed by God's direction his son Solomon. *A.*

[y] 'Trumpet (and never requiring any such covenant)' *deleatur hæc parenthesis. Auth. Correct.* 'And never expecting any covenant.' *A.*

BOOK I.

CANON XVII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the callings of Moses, of Aaron, of Joshua, of the Judges, of Saul, of David, of Solomon, or of any other of the kings of Judah, elected and named by God Himself, or coming to their kingdoms by succession (according as Jacob by the spirit of prophecy had foretold) did receive any such virtue or strength from the people, their said notice, presence, and applause, as that without the same, the said callings of God, either by name or by succession had been insufficient; or that, if the people had withstood any of them, so called by God, as is aforesaid, they had not thereby sinned, and unjustly opposed themselves against God; or, that the kingdom of Judah, by God's ordinance going by succession, when one king was dead, his heir was not in right their king (howsoever by some Athaliah he might be hindered from enjoying it), or that the 29
people were not bound, without any further circumstance, upon sufficient notice of their former king's death, to have obeyed his heir apparent, as their lawful king, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Although we doubt not but that the priests and Levites in the Old Testament were reckoned amongst the rest of such as were subject to their princes, judges, and kings; yet we have thought it fit to make the same more apparent by some particulars. Aaron the chief priest, and the rest of the Levites, after that Aaron was possessed of the high priesthood[z], were at Moses' direction all[a] the time that he lived: and when he the said Aaron had in some sort forgotten his duty to Moses, in joining of[b] his sister undutifully against him, he found his offence therein, and did humbly

[z] *Pro*, were wholly at Moses' direction, *lege*, were at Moses' direction. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.*

[a] 'at the time.' *A.*

[b] 'joining of,' 'joining with.' *D.*

submit himself in this sort unto him: 'Alas, my lord, I beseech thee, lay not this sin upon us, which we have foolishly committed.' It is likewise manifest in the book of Joshua, that Eleazer, who succeeded Aaron, with the rest of the priests and Levites under him, disposed of themselves and of their service as Joshua their prince and governor did command them. And how obedient and humble, both the priests and Levites, and the prophets themselves, were to their kings, the examples of Zadok, Jehoiada, Azariah, Hilkiah, Nathan, and divers others, do declare; they submitted themselves to their directions, and when they came into their presence, made obeisance before them upon their faces to the ground. Likewise having offices[c] distributed, and assigned severally unto them by sundry kings, they executed the same in the service of the temple accordingly. And as, whilst they did their duties they were cherished, so upon any notorious offence committed by them, they were censured and punished. Solomon deposed Abiathar from the high priesthood, and placed Zadok in his room. And Josiah likewise thrust all the priests from the altar of the Lord in Jerusalem, who had defiled the high places by burning of incense[d].

Num. 12. 11.

[Josh. 19. 51; 21. 21, &c.]

[2 Sam. 15. 25. 1 Kings 1. 34.]

[1 Kings 1. 44. 1 Chron. 12. 27.]

[2 Chron. 15. 1.]

[2 Kings 22. 12, 14; 23. 4.]

[1 Kings 1. 32.]

[1 Kings 1. 23.]

[1 Chron. 9. 27; 15. 12; 2 Chron. 31. 2, &c.]

1 Kings 2. 26, 35.

2 Kings 23. 5.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XVIII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the priests in the Old Testament were not as rightly and properly subjects to the civil governors, as the rest of the people; or that when they any ways offended, they might not be punished as lawfully by them as any others, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XIX.

As we have said of the people, that when the kings of Judah were to succeed one another, their duty was to come

[c] *Pro*, having their offices distinct, *lege*, having offices distributed. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.*

[d] 'who had burnt incense in the high places.' *D.*

BOOK I.

together with joy and gladness to receive them for their kings (as sent unto them as from God Himself), and accordingly to submit themselves unto their authority and government: so at such times, the priests for the most part, besides their general duties, as subjects, had some further service to be then by them performed: the parts of which service are all of them manifest in the advancement of king Solomon to the royal throne of his father king David; where the priests, by king David's direction, did give thanks to God, and prayed for king Solomon; they offered the people's sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving to God for their new king: and Zadok the High-Priest did himself anoint him. Howbeit this their service thus by them performed, did neither give to king Solomon any right or title to succeed his father, nor to themselves any privilege or exemption from their subjection and obedience unto him. Abiathar the High-Priest did anoint Adonijah to have succeeded king David; and no duty (of likelihood) was omitted which was to be done in such a solemn action: but thereby Adonijah received nothing but a badge of treason against the king his father, which he carried with him to his grave; and Zadok the High-Priest (notwithstanding that he had anointed king Solomon) was afterward as much subject, and as dutiful unto him, as he had been before unto his father king David. Nay, the greater the services are of any persons to their sovereigns, the greater is and so ought to be their subjection and obedience unto them.

31

1 Kings 1. 33, &c.

1 Kings 1. 7.

CANON XIX.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that Adoniah was ever lawfully king of the Israelites, because Abiathar the High-Priest had anointed him; or that king Solomon received from Zadok, or from the holy oil which he poured upon his head, any interest to his father's kingly seat, which he had not before, by the ordinance of God and his father's appointment[e];

32

[e] *Pro*, by the ordinance of God, or that Abiathar, *lege*, by the ordinance of God and his father's appointment, or that Abiathar. *Auth. Correction. A.* has the unaltered reading.

or that Abiathar might not justly have been condemned for a traitor, in that he anointed Adoniah, as is aforesaid; the right of the kingdom being then in king David, and in him by God's appointment, to be disposed of, and bestowed upon his younger son Solomon; or that it had not been a traiterous offence in Zadok[f], if being commanded thereupon by king David to anoint king Solomon, he should have refused so to have done; or, that either Zadok, or any other priest, who afterwards, according to their duties, anointed the kings of Judah, were thereby more exempted from their subjection and obedience unto them, than were the rest of the people by their joy and applause, when their kings were newly advanced to their kingdoms, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XX.

As it is apparent in the Scriptures that the Israelites generally, as well the priests as the people, were equally bound as subjects, personally to honour, reverence, and obey their kings: so is it there also as manifest, that the authority
33 of their sovereigns over them did not only extend to civil causes, but in like manner to causes ecclesiastical. For as it was then the duty of parents, so, by the law of nature, was it of good kings and civil magistrates, to bring up their children and subjects in the true service and worship of God; as having a care committed unto them, not only of their bodies but likewise of their souls. In which respect the chief charge that all subjects and inferior persons, of what condition soever, should diligently observe the said law of nature, (being the very same in substance that God, writing[g] with His own finger, gave unto Moses, and styled by the name of His Ten Commandments,) was principally imposed upon kings and civil rulers. They were to provide that their subjects had no

[f] *Pro*, in Sadoc, if being commanded by king, *lege*, in Sadoc, if being commanded thereupon by king. *Auth. Correction* and *A.*

[g] *Pro*, the very same that God writing, *lege*, the very same in substance that God writing. *Auth. Correction* and *A.*

BOOK I. other God but Him, who made heaven and earth; that they made to themselves no graven images[h], nor bowed down to them, nor worshipped them; that they did carefully meet at certain times, to serve, honour, and magnify the name of God; and that they might not be negligent in the observing of the rest of His commandments. And albeit, through the sin of our first parents, both kings and subjects were become unable so to perform these their duties of piety as they should have done; and that therefore[i] the priesthood was not only to instruct them in the mysteries of their salvation hid from nature, but likewise to teach them that grace did not so evacuate the law, but that still they were bound to obey it, with this addition or interpretation, that their faith being grounded upon the blessed Seed of the woman, if they endeavoured to do that which God had commanded them, that which either they did amiss, or omitted, should upon their repentance be forgiven, and not imputed unto them: yet this mystical and heavenly doctrine did no way release, or set at liberty kings and princes from their charge before mentioned; but rather laid a heavier burden upon them, to 34
provide that their subjects might be trained up both in the doctrine of faith, and in such obedience to God, as His said commandments so qualified by grace, as is before mentioned, did require.

CANON XX.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that natural or political fathers (kings and princes) in the Old Testament, had not a charge laid upon them by God to bring up their children and subjects in His fear; or that the institution of the priesthood did more prejudice the authority of natural fathers, or of kings and princes in that behalf, than grace did abrogate the commandments and the obedience of the law[j]; or, that natural parents, kings and princes in those days, were not

[h] *Pro*, images, that they neither bow down, &c. *lege*, images, nor bowed down to them, nor worshipped them. *Auth. Correction.* In *A.* the text is that for which the correction is substituted.

[i] *Pro*, and that thereupon the priesthood was ordained not only, *lege*, and that therefore the priesthood was not only &c. *Auth. Correct.* and *A.*

[j] *Pro*, than grace did abrogate the law, *lege*, than grace did abrogate the commandments and obedience of the law. *Auth. Correction* and *A.*

more strictly bound by the doctrine of grace, than they were before (in respect of God's great mercy unto them), to provide that their children and subjects were not suffered either to have any false gods amongst them, or to bow unto, or worship the likeness of any thing which they had made to themselves, to blaspheme and take in vain the blessed name of God; or to profane His Sabbaths, or to neglect the observation of the rest of God's commandments, by committing of murder, adultery, theft, and such like offences, to the displeasure of God, and disturbance of their families, principalities and kingdoms; or that the kings, princes, or governors of the Israelites, being instructed in the mysteries of their salvation, were not as much bound by the law of grace, to bring up their subjects in the true doctrine, that was grounded upon the blessed Seed, as they were by the law of nature, that they should carefully observe the moral precepts and commandments of God; or, that being so far bound, they had not equal authority to compel (as need should require) all their subjects, of every calling and condition whatsoever, to keep and observe both the said laws, as well of grace as of nature, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXI.

Although it were sufficient to have shewed that godly kings and rulers amongst the Jews had authority from God, as well in causes of true religion as in other of their temporal affairs; yet, if they had never put the same in practice, some scruple in the minds of the simpler sort might thereby have risen to the prejudice of it. But this point also is manifest in the Scriptures, and ought always, with due thankfulness for the same, to be remembered. It is true that the dignity of the priests in the Old Testament, but especially of the High-Priest, was very great and eminent: howbeit, (the same notwithstanding,) had it not been for godly kings and princes, religion among the Jews, after the first public

BOOK I.

establishment of it, would not have continued so long as it did, without very great and intolerable corruptions. [k]Moses did blame Aaron for yielding to the making and worshipping of idols, and reformed the offence. And again, when Aaron, being consecrated High-Priest, had, with his two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, done amiss in burning the sin-offering, which they should, by God's appointment, have eaten; and Moses, being angry with them, reproved them for it. In the days of the judges, when the people fell to the worshipping of Baalim and Ashtaroth, the Scriptures are silent what became of the priests; but it is apparent that during the lives of the judges the people were[l] by them restrained in some sort, from that impiety whereunto still after their deaths they greedily returned[m]. When Jehosaphat came to his kingdom, he found the people so destitute of teachers, as that he was moved in zeal[n] to send the priests and many of the Levites through all the cities of Judah to teach and instruct them[o]. Ahaz, the king of Judah, was a very great idolater, delighting himself altogether in the abominations of the heathen; and Uriah, the High-Priest, was a fit instrument for him; for what the one did wickedly command, the other, to the intolerable profanation of God's true worship, was ready[p] to put the same in

Exod. 32. 4, 21.

Lev. 10. 16, 17.

Judg. 2. 13; 10. 6.

Judg. 2. 18.

2 Chron. 19. 4, 8.

2 Chron. 17. 7, &c.

2 Kings 16. 3.

ver. 11.

[k] *Pro*, Aaron being designed, &c. *usque ad* also after he was consecrated High-Priest both he himself and his two sons did amiss, *lege*, Moses did blame Aaron for (as in the text). *Auth. Correction.* In *A.* it stands thus; 'Aaron being designed by God to the priesthood, did yield to the making and worshipping of idols, in which respect Moses did blame him and reform the offence. Also after he was consecrated,' &c.

[l] *Pro*, lives of their judges, they were, *lege*, lives of the judges, the people were. *Auth. Correction* and *A.*

[m] *Pro*, returned. So that in all, &c. *usque ad* the high places, not the people, *lege*, returned. When Josaphat came to his kingdom, he found the people so destitute. *Auth. Correction. A.* reads thus; 'So that in all these vacancies the priests had either lost their authority and credit or else they were little better themselves (2 Chron. 19. 4, 8.) than the people. If the priests had done their duties before Jehosaphat came to his kingdom, he had neither found them worshipping of God in high places, nor the people so destitute &c. as that they were in duty compelled to send them and many of the Levites.'

[n] *Pro*, he was compelled, *lege*, he was moved in zeal. *Auth. Correction.* The reading of *A.* is given in the last note.

[o] 'In Solomon's late times,' *usque ad* 'much worse,' *deleantur. Auth. Correction. A.* reads, 'In Solomon's latter times, and likewise in the days of diverse other kings, when both he and they were addicted so much to their idolatry, it is probable, if the priest had taken any pains with them, that they might have reformed them; but (for aught that appeareth in the Scriptures to the contrary) when the kings were bad, the priests (their callings considered) were many times worse.'

[p] *Pro*, was always ready, *lege*, was ready. *Auth. Correction* and *A.*

execution. In the days of Manasses and Ammon, groves were planted hard by the temple; horses were kept by the entrance of the house of the Lord, either to be offered (as it is thought) for sacrifices to the sun[q], or else to carry the picture of it as an idol to be worshipped[r]: the priests, sundry
37 of them, served in high places, and many of the people burnt incense unto Baal, to the sun, to the planets, and to the host of heaven: all which abominations the godly king Josiah[s] did abolish, reforming both the priests and the people: and afterwards, when the kings of Judah did altogether neglect their duties in Church causes, religion decreased, and went to havoc. Insomuch as the Scriptures rehearsing the causes of the destruction of Hierusalem, do set down this, amongst the rest, for one, viz. 'All the chief of the priests had trespassed wonderfully, according to all the abominations of the heathen, and polluted the house of the Lord, which He had sanctified.' Much more might be alleged to this purpose; as also to shew how king David, king Solomon, and king Jehosaphat[t] distributed the Levites and priests into their orders, and prescribed certain rules for them to observe in the manner of their attendance and service. But to the purpose in hand this is sufficient.

[2 Chron. 33. 3.] 2 Kings 23. 11.

[1 Kings 14. 23; 2 Kings 17. 16; 23. 11; Amos 5. 12; Acts 7. 43.] [2 Kings 23. 19.] 2 Chron. 36. 14.

1 Chron. 15. [4, &c.] [2 Chron. 8. 14. See also chap. xviii.] 2 Chron. 19. [8, &c.]

CANON XXI.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the godly princes and kings, in the Old Testament, did not practise their authority in causes ecclesiastical, or that in such their practice of it, they did not that which they were bound to do; or that amongst the Jews the true worship of God was not very much furthered[u] and continued by the godly care and

[q] *Pro*, to be offered for sacrifice to the sun, *lege*, to be offered (as it is thought) for sacrifices to the sun. *Auth. Correction* and *MS. A.*

[r] [See note B.]

[s] *Pro*, Josiah, and not the priest, did, *lege*, Josiah did. *Auth. Correction* and *MS. A.*

[t] *Pro*, king David and king Jehosaphat, *lege*, king David, king Solomon, and king Jehosaphat. *Auth. Correction* and *MS. A.*

[u] *Pro*, the true worship of God was for the most part rather &c., *usque ad*, or that the name (?) of such godly kings, *lege*, the true worship of God was not very much furthered and continued by the godly care and endeavours of their princes, or that the want of such godly kings, &c. *Auth. Correction.* The *MS. A.* reads, 'the true worship of God was not for the most part rather continued by the godly care and endeavours of their princes and

BOOK I. endeavours of their princes; or that the want of such godly kings and princes was not then an occasion and an opportunity taken, both by the priests and by the people, to follow their own fancies, and to run into many disorders, false worships, idolatry, and sundry such abominations, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXII.

What we have said either of the authority of kings, or of the practice of it in causes ecclesiastical amongst the Jews, we would not have it extended so far by any, as if we[x] imagined that in matters of religion kings might then lawfully command and do what they list. In the separation of the priesthood from the regal principality, (the same having been formerly in one person,) they were then so by God distinguished, as in some things appertaining to the office of kings, no priest as he was a priest had any authority to intermeddle; as in some other things appertaining to the office of priests, no king as he was a king might lawfully be an actor: both of them having their bounds and limits appointed unto them by God, which without sin they might not exceed. And, therefore, as we greatly blame the High-Priest Uriaz for obeying the wicked commandment of king
2 Kings 16. 11. Ahaz, in building by his direction an altar in the temple according to the form of one that was in Damascus, so do we greatly commend the godly zeal of Azariah the High-Priest, and
2 Chron. 26. 17. of eighty other priests that were with him, in withstanding (as far as lawfully they might) Uzziah king of Juda, when in the pride of his heart he went into the temple of the Lord, and would have burnt incense upon the altar of incense, 39 which none might lawfully do but priests. But it is to be

kings, than by the diligence of the priests, either high or low of all sorts, or that it was not then sometimes as unlawful to have obeyed the High-Priest as it was at some other times lawful to have rested upon them, or (Placet,) that the want of such godly kings and princes.'

[x] 'Extended so far, as if.' *D.*

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observed, that they did not withstand the kings by force, or armies, but told him[y] that it 'did not appertain unto him, but to the priests, to burn incense unto the Lord;' and therefore urged him[z] to go forth of the sanctuary. Howbeit, the king being angry with them for the same[a], persisted (as it appeareth) in his former purpose; and having incense in his hand, would have burnt it upon the altar, if God Himself had not struck him in the forehead with a leprosy, wherewith being terrified (as also with a great earthquake then happening[b], as some learned men have written from Amos[c]) he was[d] constrained not only to desist from that rashness, and to depart hastily out of the sanctuary[e], but likewise as a leper to dwell in a house apart, (according to the law,) and Jotham his son, as viceroy, ruled his father's house, and judged the people of the land, Uzziah himself, during his life, remaining king[f].

BOOK I. [ver. 18.]

Amos 1. 1.

2 Chron. 26. 21. [Lev. 13. 46.]

CANON XXII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that Urias the High-Priest was bound to have built the said altar, because king Ahaz did command him, or that Azariah and the other priests did amiss in reproving king Uzziah so plainly, or that they lawfully might have used[g] any violence or force against the king's person[h], either in hindering him from burning of

[y] *Pro*, but only told him, *lege*, but told him. *Auth. Correction. MS. A.* follows the uncorrected text.

[z] *Pro*, and therefore moved him, *lege*, and therefore urged him. *Auth. Correction.* The *MS. A.* has the original text.

[a] *Pro*, being angry with them for such their speeches to him, *lege*, being angry with them for the same. *Auth. Correction.* The *MS. A.* has the uncorrected text.

[b] *Pro*, wherewith being put in mind of his offence, and terrified when an earthquake, he was easily induced not only, &c. *lege*, wherewith being terrified (as also with a great earthquake then happening, as some learned men have written from Amos 1. 1.) he was constrained not only, &c. *Auth. Correction.* But the *MS. A.* reads the last clause thus, 'as some learned men have thought, taking their grounds from the Scriptures.'

[c] [See note C.]

[d] 'He was driven.' *MS. A.*

[e] *Pro*, to depart both willingly and hastily, *lege*, to depart hastily. *Auth. Correction* and *MS. A.*

[f] The Authorized Corrections require us to *dele* the words 'was content,' which not being preserved in the *MS. A.*, their position cannot be accurately ascertained, but apparently they occurred near the end of the chapter.

[g] *Pro*, or that they used, or lawfully might, *lege*, or that they lawfully might have used. *Auth. Correction.* The *MS. A.* agrees with the original text.

[h] *Pro*, either to have, &c., *usque ad verba*, dwell apart, *lege*, either in hindering him from burning of incense, or

BOOK I. incense, or in thrusting him out of the temple, or in compelling him to dwell apart in a house, as he did (though he was a leper) if he had not of himself yielded to the observation of the law in that behalf; or that he was deprived of his kingdom either by the said stroke of God, or by his dwelling in a house apart; or that any thing which the priests then did, might have been a lawful warrant to any priest afterward in the Old Testament, either to have deposed by sentence any of their kings from their kingdoms for the like offences, or to have used arms, or repressed such their unlawful attempts by forcible ways, though they had imagined the same might have tended to the preservation of religion; or that either before that time, or afterwards, any priest did resist by force of arms, or depose any of the kings, either of Israel or of Juda, from their kingdoms, though the kings of Israel, all of them, and fourteen of the kings of Juda, were open and plain idolaters, [he doth greatly err[j].]

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

[Chap. 18. p. 27.] We have shewed before that king Solomon did lawfully depose Abiathar from the priesthood, and placed Zadok in his room; but that any priests in the Old Testament (as likewise we have before declared) did ever depose from their crowns any of their kings, how wicked soever, or had any lawful authority[k] so to do, it can never be proved. Howbeit 2Kings11. 1, [&c.] one example of Jehoiada the High-Priest is fit to be considered. After the death of Ahaziah king of Juda, his mother Athalia finding his children to be very young, killed

in thrusting him out of the temple, or in compelling him to dwell apart. *Auth. Correction.* The reading of the *MS. A.* is as follows; 'Either to have hindered him from burning of incense, or so to have thrust him out of the temple, or that the said priests had any authority to have compelled the king by any force, or arms, to have dwelt apart.'

[j] These four words are accidentally omitted by the copyist of *MS. A.*

[k] 'Any authority.' *D.*

them all but the youngest, and reigned by usurpation six years over the land. The said youngest child (whose name was Joash) was secretly conveyed away by his aunt Jehoshabeth, his father's sister, and the wife of Jehoiada the High-Priest, who kept him up so [l] secretly in the temple, as that Athalia the usurper could never hear of him. Now after the said six years that Joash the true and natural heir apparent of the crown[m] had been so brought up, he the said Jehoiada, being the king's uncle, and the chief head or prince of his tribe, sent through Juda for the Levites and chief fathers both of Juda and of Benjamin, to come unto him to Hierusalem; who accordingly repairing thither, and being made acquainted by him with the preservation of their prince, (as is aforesaid,) and that it was the Lord's will that he should reign over them, they altogether by a covenant acknowledged their allegiance unto him, as unto their lawful king, and so disposed of things, as presently after he was crowned and anointed: which dutiful office of subjects being performed, they apprehended the usurper Athalia, and slew her, as before it was by the said states resolved. In all the
42 process of which action nothing was done either by Jehoiada the High-Priest, or by the rest of the princes and people of Juda and Benjamin, which God Himself did not require at their hands; Joash their late king's son being then their only natural lord and sovereign, although Athalia kept him for six years from the possession of his kingdom.

CANON XXIII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that Athalia did well in murdering her son's children, or that Jehoiada and his wife did amiss in preserving the life of their king Joash; or that Athalia was not a tyrannical usurper, (the right heir of that kingdom being alive;) or that it was neither lawful for Jehoiada, and the rest of the princes, Levites, and people, to have yielded their subjection unto their lawful king; nor, having so done, and their king being in possession of his

[l] 'Kept him so.' *D.*

[m] 'To the crown.' *D.*

BOOK I. crown, to have joined together for the overthrowing of Athalia the usurper; or that Jehoiada the High-Priest was not bound, as he was a priest, both to inform the princes and people of the Lord's promise, that Joash should reign over them, and likewise to anoint him; or that this fact, either of the princes, priests, or people, was to be held for a lawful warrant, for any afterwards, either princes, priests or people, to have 13
deposed any of the kings of Juda, who by right of succession came to their crowns, or to have killed them for any respect whatsoever, and to have set another in their places according to their own choice; or that either this example of Jehoiada, or any thing else in the Old Testament, did give then unto the High-Priest any authority to dispute, determine, or judge, whether the children of the kings of Juda should either be kept from the crown, because their fathers were idolaters, or being in possession of it, should be deposed from it in that respect, or in any other respect whatsoever, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Almighty God, forseeing what defects there would be sometimes in kings and civil magistrates, and sometimes not only in the inferior priests, but likewise in the High-Priests themselves; did still (as occasion required, and for the benefit of His Church) raise up and send unto them His prophets, men endued by His Holy Spirit, with extraordinary authority, knowledge, zeal and courage; who neither feared king nor priest, but told them plainly of their[n] thoughts, denounced the judgment of God against them for their sins, and executed without respect of persons such other parts of their duties as God Himself immediately gave them in charge. Notwithstanding the priests stood much upon their autho- 41

[n] 'Their faults.' *D.*

rity, and bragged that the 'law should not perish from them,' flattering themselves and the people with lying words[o], (as appeareth by the people's speeches, taught most likely by them) 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord;' yet the prophets told them plainly, that they erred, that they were covetous, receivers of gifts, and false dealers; that they had polluted the temple of God, that the law should perish from them, that God Himself had found their wickedness in His own house, that Hierusalem should be destroyed, and that they themselves should be carried into captivity. In respect of which, their faithful, bold, and plain dealing, according to God's commandment, and particular directions, the priests were for the most part greatly moved, and incensed against them. Pashur the High-Priest struck the prophet Jeremy upon the face, and afterwards cast him into prison; also his death was conspired amongst the priests, and the rest from time to time were little better entreated by them. It is true that there were in those times very many false prophets, who pretending that they likewise were sent from God, did greatly trouble that Church and state; but their falsehood and lewdness ought neither to have prejudiced the good priests, nor the true prophets.

Jer. 18. 18. Jer. 7. 4. [Is. 28. 7.] [Jer. 6. 13.] [Is. 1. 23.] [Jer. 6. 13.] [Zeph. 3. 1. 4.] [Jer. 18. 18.] [Ezek. 23. 39.] [Is. 64. 10, 11.] [Jer. 25. 12.] Jer. 20. 2. [Jer. 26. 8.] [1 Kings 22. 6, &c.]

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXIV.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the priests in the Old Testament, from the highest to the lowest, were not bound to have obeyed the directions which God Himself delivered unto them by His prophets; notwithstanding that now and then some of them were of the tribe of Levi, and consequently in other causes were subject unto them; or that the examples of the true prophets were any lawful warrant, either

[o] *Pro*, flattering themselves with lying words, the temple of the Lord, &c., *lege*, flattering themselves with lying words, as appeareth by the people's speeches, taught most likely by them, the temple, &c. *Auth. Correction.* The *MS. A.* reads, 'flattering themselves and the people with lying words, the temple,' &c.

BOOK I.

for any false prophets, or for any other person or persons whatsoever, to have railed, libelled, threatened, or denounced the judgments of God against any of the said priests, according to their own malicious humours (God Himself having never given them any such warrant or foreknowledge to pronounce of such particular judgments to come;) or that because the High-Priest and the rest of the priests did amiss in the malicious prosecution of God's true prophets, they might not therefore lawfully take order for the punishment of false prophets, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXV.

It is apparent likewise in the Scriptures, that as the godly prophets in the Old Testament dealt with the priests, so did they in like manner deal with their kings: although otherwise they were their subjects, and owed them as much duty as any other. Nathan the prophet, by God's particular direction, spared not king David to tell him of his offences. No more did Abhijah Jeroboam, nor Elias king Ahab; they denounced God's judgments boldly against them, and accordingly they came to pass. Also the Lord, being not bound to those laws which He prescribeth others to observe, commanded Jehu, a subject, to be anointed king over Israel, of purpose to punish the sins of Ahab and Jezabel: and accordingly Elizeus the prophet caused Jehu to be anointed, and God's message to be delivered unto him; who presently, upon the knowledge of God's will, and the submission of the princes and captains of Israel unto him, as to their lawful king, did put in execution the said message by killing Joram (before his[p] sovereign, but then his subject) and by destroying and rooting out the whole posterity, sons, familiars, and priests of Ahab. In like manner Samuel (a prophet, but the

2 Sam. 12. [7.]
1 Kings 14. [7.]
1 Kings 18. [17.]
1 Kings 19. 16.
2 Kings 9. 3.
ver. 13.
ver. 24.

[p] 'Before that time his.' *D.*

subject of king Saul) did not refuse[q], when God directly, and in express terms, bade him both to tell his master the king, that 'the Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from him,' and to anoint king David to succeed him. We say to succeed him, because we think that God's purpose only was to cut off Saul's posterity from reigning after him; and not actually whilst he lived to deprive him of his kingdom, but principally to provide that David might succeed him. Certain it is that David lied not, when, notwithstanding that he himself was anointed to succeed king Saul, yet he called him his master, and the Lord's anointed: also he prayed that God would keep him from laying his hands upon king Saul, for that he was the Lord's anointed. Likewise when one of the captains would have slain king Saul, he said, 'Destroy him not, for who can lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?' Furthermore, when the messenger brought him news of Saul's death, 'Wast thou not afraid' (quoth he) 'to put forth thy hand to destroy the anointed of the Lord?' and commanding the said messenger to be killed for his offence therein, 'Thy blood' (saith David) 'be upon thine own head, for thine own mouth hath witnessed against thee, saying, I have slain the Lord's anointed.' Besides, it is manifest that the tribes of Israel accounted Saul to be their lawful king during his life. And also that they construed Samuel's words to be meant only of David's interest to succeed him after his death: and Samuel himself (notwithstanding all that he had done by[r] God's commandment) left the success thereof to the disposition of His heavenly providence; and afterwards both honoured Saul before the people as his king, and likewise continued whilst he lived a dutiful subject unto him.

1 Sam. 15. 28. 1 Sam. 16. [1.] 1 Sam. 24. 6. 1 Sam. 26. 9. 2 Sam. 1 14. [ver. 16.] 1 Sam. 23. 20, &c.; 24. 20. 1 Sam. 15. 30, 31.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXV.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the prophets were to blame for dealing so sharply with kings and princes,

[q] *Pro*, .Samuel a prophet, but the subject of king Saul, was not afraid when, *lege*, did not refuse when. *Auth. Correction* in the hand of Overall, and adopted in the text of *MS. A.*

[r] 'Done was by.' *D.*

BOOK I.

being their sobereigns, as though God's express commandments had not been sufficient to have authorized them so to have dealt; or that the example of God's prophets in this behalf were a sufficient warrant for any false prophets, or other lewd persons, to have railed and libelled against their kings, or to have denounced such judgments against them, as they in malice either desired or vainly imagined; or that any prophets, priests, or other persons, having no direct and express commandment from God, might lawfully imitate the said facts, either of Samuel or of Elizeus, in anointing and dissigning successors to kings, which otherwise had no just interest, title and claim to their kingdoms; or that it is lawful for any captain or subject, high or low whosoever, to bear arms against their sovereign, or to lay violent hands upon his sacred person, by the example of Jehu, (notwithstanding that any prophet or priest should incite them thereunto, by unction, or any other means whatsoever, except first it might[s] plainly appear, that there are now any such prophets sent extraordinarily from God Himself, with sufficient and special authority in that behalf; and that every such captain, or subject[t], so incited, might be assured that God Himself had, in express words, and by name, required and commanded him so to do,) he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Furthermore, that nothing may be omitted concerning the authority and dignity of God's prophets in the Old Testament, the words of the Lord to Jeremy in that behalf, are with due care and diligence to be observed; 'Behold,' saith the Lord, 'I have set thee over the nations, and over the

Jer. 1. 10.

[s] 'That it might,' *D.*

[t] 'Captain and,' *D.*, and such was originally the reading of the *MS. A.*, the alteration being made by the first scribe.

kingdoms, that thou mayest pluck up, and root out, and destroy, and throw down, and build, and plant.' Now forasmuch as it doth not appear in the Scriptures, that the prophet Jeremy did at any time, as a warrior and great emperor, dispose of nations and kingdoms, or plucked up, rooted out, destroyed, or threw down kings: or that he built, or chose, or set up kings, in the places of those that he had deposed or thrown down; the ancient writers do deliver the true sense and meaning of the said words, when they expound them in sort and effect, as followeth: 'I have set thee over nations and kingdoms,' that is, I have imposed upon thee the office of prophesying, not only against the people and kingdom of Juda, but likewise against the nations and empires, viz. the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians, &c., 'that thou mayest pluck up, root out, destroy, and throw down;' that is, that thou mayest pronounce that wicked nations shall be pulled, or carried away, out of their own provinces; and that thou mayest prophesy that they shall be destroyed, or killed, and dispersed in divers places, or consumed. 'That thou mayest build and plant;' that is, that thou mayest declare that both the Jews and other nations shall, after a just and due castigation, be repaired and restored to their own proper countries. So that the prophet Jeremy, and the rest of the prophets in like manner, although they were chosen of God, to denounce to wicked persons, countries, kingdoms and nations, His deserved judgment for their sins; yet were they neither the workers nor the authors of those judgments. Noah denounced the flood, but it cannot therefore be truly affirmed that Noah drowned the world. Daniel denounced Nebuchadnezzar's fall, but it was not Daniel that took his heart and understanding from him, nor that made him to eat grass like an ox. Samuel denounced the judgments of God against king Saul, but Samuel did not thrust him out of his kingdom. And even so, although the prophet Jeremy denounced the bondage of Babylon, and many other judgments of God against the said nations, yet it cannot be either truly said that Jeremy delivered the whole kingdom of Juda into captivity, or that he overthrew or destroyed any of the rest; only he prophesied as God did command him, and left the executions of

[Jer. 27. 1. 49. 1. [Id. 18. 1. [Id. 50. 13.] [Id. 50. 1.]

Gen. 7. 1. 2 Pet. 2. 5.

Dan. 4. 22.

[ver. 33.] [1 Sam. 13. 14.]

BOOK I. such judgments to the times and persons which the Lord had designed and appointed for that purpose.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXVI.

If any man therefore shall affirm that the prophet Jeremy had any authority to depose kings from their kingdoms, for any cause whatsoever, and to bestow them upon others, as he thought fit; or that, albeit the said words were spoken by the Lord to Jeremy, and that he, being otherwise an inferior priest, had no authority, literally, so to cast down and set up kings, yet the High-Priests, men of greater power and dignity, might then have used kings in that manner and sort, according to their deserts (the benefit and preservation of the Church so requiring): or that any of the High-Priests (as deriving their authority either from the said words spoken to Jeremy, or from any thing else that is written in the Scriptures) either might, or ever did, take upon them, to give this neighbour kingdom to one man, and that remoter kingdom to another man; or to deprive any [u] of their own kings, either of Juda, or of 51
Israel, from their kingdoms, though many of them (as elsewhere we have said) were exceeding great idolaters, and sundry ways stained with lamentable blots, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The history of Jehu [x] before mentioned, doth put us in
[1] Ehud mind what is written of Ahud [1], one of the judges of Israel. We have elsewhere shewed that from Joshua's death to the time of Saul [y], God Himself, when His people were oppressed

[u] 'Deprive any,' *D.* reads, 'depose any.'

[x] [See Can. 25. p. 42.]

[y] [See Chap. 13. p. 16.]

by their bordering neighbours, did still raise up unto them governors and leaders, called judges, without respect either of any tribe, more one than another, or of the dignity of any person, or of the people's pleasure, choice and consent first required; but simply according to His own choice and wisdom: in which number the said Ahud was one; the manner of whose entrance into that charge, we could not (our course considered) pretermit with silence. The Israelites had been eighteen years in subjection to the Moabites; as they had been a little before, eight years to the Aramites. They knew that it was not lawful for them of themselves, and by their own authority, to take arms against the kings, whose subjects they were, though indeed they were tyrants: and therefore they 'cried unto the Lord for succour.' Who, [Judg. 3. 15.] in compassion of their servitude and miseries, appointed Othoniel to deliver them from the Aramites; and afterward Judg. 3. 9. Ahud from the Moabites. In the choice of which two ver. 15.
52 judges it is to be observed that the Scriptures do tell us that 'God raised them up' (and therefore it is most certain He did [Judg. 3. 9, 15.] so) and also, that in such raising of them to their places He made them 'saviours to His people,' (as the Scriptures speak) [Judg. 3. 9. marginal reading.] giving them thereby authority to save and redeem the Israelites from the tyrants that oppressed them: without both which prerogatives it had been altogether unlawful for them to have done as they did. Besides, it appeareth in the Scriptures, that when the Lord did thus choose out, and authorize the said deliverers and rulers, He did not only give them, by His Holy Spirit, full assurance of their lawful callings, but likewise did furnish them with such wisdom and courage as was necessary for them in those kinds of services. So as Ahud (at whom we principally aim) being thus both called and instructed from God, how he should begin his people's deliverance from the Moabites, by killing of Eglon their king, he framed his course accordingly; and preparing for himself a meet weapon, took a fit opportunity, and thereupon (as God had directed him) he, wholly resting upon the Lord's assistance, executed that judgment upon the said king; and afterward so vanquished the Moabites, and [Judg. 3. 16, &c.] subdued them under the hand of Israel, as the whole land was at rest from the oppression of their enemies four score [ver. 30.] [Judg. 3. 10; 6. 34; 11, 29; 13. 25, & 14. 6. & 15. 14. 9, &c.]

BOOK I.

years. Besides, it is to be observed, that as God's appointing by name and election of Moses, Joshua, and Saul, and after that the kingdom of Juda was held[z] by succession; the very being of the king's son, and the true heir apparent after his father's death, gave unto them all the actual interest, right and possession (as possession in those cases is to be expounded) of their several governments, to do any act or acts, as well before as after any subsequent formalities and ceremonies: even so the said form of calling the judges by God Himself immediately, made them also judges actually, and did give unto them a full and absolute authority (independent upon any but upon Him that gave it them) to undertake any thing that by God's direction appertained to their places. Again, there is one other example of Jehu amongst the kings of Israel, which we have before touched[a], like unto this of Ahud: wherein it appeareth, that he, the said Jehu, was of a subject first made the king of Israel, before it was lawful for him to have killed Joram; as Ahud, a subject, was first made the judge, prince and ruler of the people, before he might have lawfully killed king Eglon. Both which examples (being but in number two throughout the histories of all the princes, judges and kings, either of Juda or Israel) do make it known unto us, that although the Lord both may, and is able to overthrow any kings or emperors, notwithstanding any claim, right, title, or interest, which they can challenge to their countries, kingdoms or empires; yet foreseeing in His heavenly wisdom, and Divine Providence, what mischief private men, under colour of these examples, might otherwise have pretended, or attempted against their sovereigns (as being either discontented of themselves, or set into some fury by other malicious persons) He did so order and dispose of all things in the execution of these such His extraordinary judgments, as that thereby it might plainly appear to any (that should not wilfully hoodwink himself) never to be lawful for any person whatsoever, upon pretence of any revelation, inspiration, or commandment from His Divine Majesty, either to touch the person of his sovereign, or to bear arms against him; except God should first advance the said person from his private estate, and make him a king, or an

[z] 'The kingdom was held.' *D.*

[a] [See Can. 25. p. 42.]

absolute prince, to succeed his late master in his kingdom, or principality. BOOK I.

PLACET EIS.

54 CANON XXVII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that any godly and[b] dutiful subject in the Old Testament, did ever (by the direction of God's Spirit) account this fact of Ahud to be a lawful warrant for him to have murdered the king under whose subjection he lived, for any cause whatsoever; though he should have had never so many motions in his heart thereunto; or, that the High-Priest himself, or all the rest of the priests (who then lived) joined together with him, could have given authority to any person, born a subject, to have so dealt with his sovereign, though he had been never so wicked, and that such his death might have availed the Church (in their opinions) never so greatly; or, that either the said High-Priest, and all his consistory of priests, might lawfully have encouraged any, who being born subjects, should have pretended in their zeal toward religion, never so many illuminations, directions, or commandments from God, to have laid violent hands upon their king, the Lord's anointed, for their proceeding in that course; or, that any person, born a subject, and 55 affirming by all the arguments which wit or learning could devise, that God had called him to murder the king, *de facto*, under whom he lived; yea though he should first have procured himself to be proclaimed and anointed king, as Adonijah did, and should afterwards have laid violent hands upon his master; ought therefore to have been believed of any that feared God; except (which is impossible) he should first probe his credit, in so affirming, to be equal with the Scriptures, and that men were bound as strictly to believe him, in saying that God called and stirred him up to the perpetrating of that fact, as we are bound to believe the Holy Ghost

[b] 'Godly and' 'godly or.' *D.*

BOOK I. (by whose instinct the Scriptures were written) when He telleth us that God raised up Ahud for a saviour to His people, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Hitherto in the whole course of that mild and temperate monarchical government which it pleased God to establish amongst His own people, the duty of inferior persons and subjects, of all sorts, was ever obedience. They neither took upon them to choose their governors, nor to bear arms against them. Howbeit it happened otherwise amongst some other nations. Nimrod, not contenting himself with the portion which, by Noah his general direction, appertained unto him, could never have erected his tyrannical government, if a number of rebellious and discontented persons had not cleaved unto him (as the factious Sichemites did to Abimelech) and made him their king. The Romans, having kings, rebelled against them, and took the government into their own hands; the execution whereof did trouble them exceedingly. Sometimes they committed it to many, and sometimes to fewer: their two annual consuls pleased them long, but at the last they thought it fit to have a dictator; till, in the end, Julius Cæsar and Augustus reduced their government again into a monarchy. And as the Romans dealt with their kings, so did the people, in some other countries, with their governors. Whereupon divers other kinds of governments, termed, according to their temper, aristocratical, political, tyrannical, oligarchical or democratical, &c. were afterwards settled in many places. The inconveniences of which forms of government being found (upon many occasions[c] oftsoons) to be very great, the people have been driven, of necessity, in sundry countries, to frame them again, as near as they could, to the monarchical government, either by electing to themselves kings, upon

[Gen. 10. 8.]
[Judg. 9. 1, &c.]

[c] 'Occasions oftentimes.' *D.*

certain conditions, to reign over them; or by appointment of dukes or princes to be the managers of their chief affairs, according as they themselves should direct them. Besides, as the said rebellious humours of the people, declining from their obedience, did, in many countries, alter that temperate and fatherly government which Noah had prescribed unto his offspring, and which God Himself established afterwards amongst His own people; so did the ambitious and insatiable dispositions of sundry, no less elsewhere impeach the same; as by the beginning and progress of the four monarchies it
57 is most apparent. In all which aberrations from the said mild and temperate government, before specified, Almighty God (Who, for the sins of any nation or country, altereth their governments and governors, transferreth, setteth up and bestoweth kingdoms, as it seemeth best to His heavenly wisdom) did ever, by His foresight and providence, so dispose both the rebellion of subjects, and the malice and greediness of encroaching kings upon their neighbours, as albeit such their attempts of all sorts, were, in themselves, very wicked and detestable in His sight; yet He, having the skill to bring light out of darkness, and to use wicked instruments and actions for a good purpose, did always frame and apply them to execute His own just judgments, when the sins of a nation, but principally of His own people, were of that nature, height and ripeness, as His justice could not fitly be put in execution by any other, but by the wicked. For example, in the overthrowing of Hierusalem, God's own city, in burning of the temple, that was the place of His glory, and of carrying His own people into captivity, though never so much by them deserved, no godly king could well have been employed; but such a one only as the king of Babylon was. In respect of which their employment, such wicked instruments to execute God's just judgments are called sometimes His servants, and the rods of His wrath; or, as Attila termed himself, the scourge of God[d]. And when, having attained their ungodly desires, whether ambitious kings, by bringing any country into their subjection, or disloyal subjects, by rebellious rising against their natural sovereigns, they have established any of the said degene-

Dan. 2. [39. &c.] Eccles. 10. [4.]

Jer. 27. [6.] Isa. 10. [5.]

[d] [See note D.]

BOOK I.

rate forms of government amongst their people; the authority either so unjustly gotten or wrung, by force, from the true and lawful possessor, being always God's authority (and therefore receiving no impeachment by the wickedness of those that have it), is ever, when any such alterations are throughly settled, to be reverenced and obeyed, and the people of all sorts, as well of the clergy as of the laity, are to be subject unto it, not only for fear, but likewise for[e] conscience sake. The Israelites in Egypt, after Joseph his death, being oppressed very tyrannically, many ways, did never rebel against any of those kings, but submitted themselves to their authority, though their burthens were very intolerable, both in respect of the impossible works imposed upon them, and because also they might not offer sacrifices unto the Lord, a special part of God's worship, without apparent danger of stoning to death. Besides, it may not be omitted, when God Himself sent Moses to deliver them from that servitude, He would not suffer him to carry them thence, till Pharaoh, their king, gave them licence to depart. Afterwards also, when the Jews, being brought into subjection under the[f] kings of Babylon, did, by the instigation of false prophets, rebel against them, they were in that respect greatly condemned by the prophet Jeremy: and in their captivity, which shortly after followed, they lived by the direction of the said prophet, in great subjection and obedience; they prayed not only for their kings and for their children, that they might live long, and prosper, but likewise for the state of their government; the good success whereof they were bound to seek and regard, as well as any other of the king's dutiful subjects. And thus they lived in Babylon, and other places of that dominion, till the king gave them leave to depart; notwithstanding, in the mean time, they endured many calamities, and were destitute, for many years, of the public service and worship of God, which was tied to the temple, and might not elsewhere be practised or attempted.

Rom. 13. 5.

Jer. 28. 16; 29. 32.

PLACET EIS.

[e] 'Also for.' *D.*

[f] 'To the kings.' *D.*

59 CANON XXVIII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the subjects, when they shake off the yoke of their obedience to their sovereigns, and set up a form of government amongst themselves, after their own humours, do not therein very wickedly: or, that it is lawful for any bordering kings, through ambition and malice, to invade their neighbours: or, that the providence and goodness of God, in using of rebellions and oppressions to execute His justice against any king or country, doth mitigate or qualify the offences of any such rebels or oppressing kings: or that, when any such new forms of government, begun by rebellion, are after throughly settled, the authority in them is not of God: or, that any who live within the territories of any[g] such new governments, are not bound to be subject to God's authority, which is there executed, but may rebel against the same: or, that the Jews, either in Egypt or Babylon, might lawfully, for any cause, have taken arms against any of those kings, or have offered any violence to their persons, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

60 CHAPTER XXIX.

Although the Jews, upon their deliverance out of captivity and restitution to their own country, received many favours from the Persian kings, and had liberty given them to live in a sort according to their own laws; yet they never recovered their former estate, but lived in great subjection and servitude under them, whilst that monarchy endured. Neh. 9. 36. The temple and city of Hierusalem were again built, but not with the magnificence which they had before. Zorobabel first, and then Nehemiah, were made successively by the said kings, the rulers and governors of the Jews so restored, but with divers restraints. It was not forgotten, what

[g] 'Of such new.' *D.*

BOOK I.

mighty kings had ruled in Hierusalem, and therefore the said rulers were not permitted to govern any more in that regal sort. They were still subject to the direction of
Ezra 4. 20. those kings, and paid unto them very large tribute and customs; insomuch, as when the priests gave public thanks unto God, for His restoring unto them of the state which they had, they said thus withal unto Him, as bewailing their
Neh. 9. [36, 37.] condition; Behold, we are servants this day in the land which Thou gavest our fathers; it yieldeth much fruit unto the kings whom Thou hast set over us, because of our sins; and they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle at their pleasure, and we are in great affliction. The extraordinary favour which was shewed to any, was principally extended towards the priests, over whom the said kings had not so jealous an eye as they had over the princes and the rest of the people. Howbeit, the same notwithstanding, they, the said priests, were subject to their own immediate princes, both in temporal and ecclesiastical causes; as formerly the priests had been to the kings of Juda before
Ezra 2. 36. the captivity. Their governors forbad certain, who [illegible] they were priests, from eating of the most holy things.
Neh. 5. 12. Nehemiah ministered an oath unto the priests: he reformed the abuses of the Sabbath, and prescribed orders for the
Neh. 13. 15. better observing thereof. He appointed certain of the priests
Neh. 13. 13 to oversee the tithes in the treasury. He commanded the Levites to cleanse themselves, and to keep the gates, and to
[ver. 22.] sanctify the Sabbath. Eliasib, the High-Priest, having defiled the temple, by letting [h] unto Tobias, a stranger, a chamber in the court of the house of God, (where in aforetimes the offerings, the incense, the vessels, and such other things, used in God's service, had been kept), Nehemiah, the governor, was greatly offended with it; and displacing the said Tobias, cast forth all his stuff out of his said chamber, and brought thither
[ver. 1–9.] again the vessels of the house of God, with the meat-offerings and incense.

PLACET TIS.

[h] 'Letting Tobias,' *D.*

BOOK I.

CANON XXIX.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that Almighty God kept not His promise to the Jews made in His name by the prophet Jeremy, as touching their deliverance by Cyrus out of their captivity; because they were not restored to any such perfect liberty and government as they had before: or, that the said kings of Persia, continuing still by God's appointment a supreme authority over the Jews so restored, might by them for any cause, or under any colour, have been
62 defrauded of their tributes, or resisted by force of arms, or otherwise impeached, either in their states or persons: or, that Zorobabel and Nehemiah were not lawful princes over the Jews, because they were placed in that government without the people's election: or, that they, the said princes, by dealing in cases ecclesiastical, as is aforesaid, did take more upon them, than by God's appointment appertained to their charge: or, that the priests, both high and low, had not grievously sinned, if they had not submitted themselves in the said ecclesiastical causes, to the direction of those their civil governors, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXX.

The High-Priest, as before we have[1] said, in that mild and temperate government which God Himself had ordained, was the second person in the kingdom. Whereupon the same, after the captivity, being turned, as it were, into a dukedom, and, for ought that appeareth, the princes after Nehemiah his time growing poor, by reason of their payments to those kings unto whom they were tributary: and receiving small assistance or countenance from them, because they were still jealous of them, whereas the priests, it

[1] [See p. 31.]

BOOK I.

seemeth, being freed from all tributes and impositions, grew rich, and were no way suspected: it came to pass, the sins of the people so requiring, that the High-Priest did easily 63
oversway both their princes and their people, and thereby attained very great authority in that principality. Only they stood in awe, for the time, of the kings of Persia, to whose obedience they were bound by an oath, when they were made High-Priests: but otherwise, for ought we find, they had no great regard of any other authority: which so advanced the dignity of the priesthood, as afterwards the practices of the High-Priest's children, to succeed their father in that high dignity, grew as troublesome to the people as
[i] Jeshua was their servitude to the Persians. For Jesus[i], the younger brother of John, the second High-Priest after Eliasib, men-
[Neh. 12. 10.] tioned by Nehemiah, procured by corruption the favour of the chief governor of the Persians in those countries adjoining, for his assistance, to deprive his brother, that he himself might enjoy the high-priesthood; whereof his elder brother having some notice, did kill him in the temple: which the said governor took in so evil part, as he spoiled the said temple, being, as he said, profaned with blood; and laid an exceeding great tribute in that respect upon the people, to indure for seven years. But John the High-Priest continued in his place[k]. After whose death, his two sons, Jaddus and Manasses, fell at great variance[l]: the younger, to make himself strong against his elder brother, married contrary to
Neh. 13. 28. the law of God, with a daughter of Sanballat, another chief ruler in Samaria, under the king of Persia. For which offence Jaddus, notwithstanding the authority of Sanballat, removed him from the dignity of priesthood: and thereupon, he, the said Manasses[m], procured by Sanballat's means, a temple to be built in mount Garizin, near Samaria, in form and magnificence like to that in Hierusalem, where he flourished; and whither all the lewd persons of Juda had daily recourse[n]. Upon which occasion much trouble arose afterwards betwixt the Samaritans and the Jews. The said Jaddus lived till the monarchy of the Grecians began; who, 64

[i] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xi. 7. § 1.]
[k] [Id. § 2.]
[l] Id. xi. 8. [See note E.]
[m] [Id. § 4: and ii. § 6. and viii. § 7.]

when Alexander [o], having overthrown Darius the king of the Persians, sent unto him, that he should assist him in his wars, and become tributary to the Macedonians, as he had been to the Persians; returned for his answer, that he might not yield thereunto, because he had taken an oath for his true allegiance unto Darius, which he might not lawfully violate whilst Darius lived, being by flight escaped, when his army was discomfited.

We have here cited, and shall hereafter cite some things out of the books of the Maccabees, and other ancient historiographers, of purpose to continue the manner of the government of the Jews, in what case they stood from time to time, after the days of Nehemiah; not meaning thereby to attribute any canonical authority unto them, nor to establish any point of doctrine out of them, but only to proportion and measure the regiment and actions of that people, by the rules and analogy of the sacred Scriptures [p].

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXX.

If any man therefore shall affirm, contrary to the grounds and truth of the said Holy Scriptures, either that, albeit kings of Persia had authorized some succeeding princes, as they did Zorobabel and Nehemiah, and whether they did so or no, it is not certain, yet the High-Priests might afterwards have lawfully borne the sway, that they did, and not been subject unto them, as their predecessors had been to Zorobabel and Nehemiah: or, that if Nehemiah continued alive in that government till Jaddus's time, as it is probable he did, he might not lawfully, being authorized as before, though he were old, have reformed any abuse in the priests, both high and low: or, that they were not bound in conscience to have obeyed him therein: or, that the Jews might lawfully have rebelled for any cause against the Persians, during their government over them: or, that Jaddus the High-Priest did amiss in

[o] Id. [See note F.]

[p] 'Holy Scriptures.' *D.*

BOOK I. binding his allegiance to king Darius by an oath: or, that he had not sinned, if he had refused, being thereunto required, so to have sworn: or, that having so sworn, he might lawfully either have[q] borne arms himself against Darius, or have solicited others, whether aliens or Jews, thereunto, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Alexander, by God's providence, having vanquished the Persians, the Jews, amongst many other nations, became his subjects. He dealt favourably with them[r], released them of some payments, granted them liberty to live according to their own laws, and left their government, in every point, as he found it[s]; their duties, ordinary tributes, and some of their royal prerogatives, always reserved to the Macedonians, as they had been before to the Persians: but this their 66 tolerable estate endured not long. For, upon Alexander's death, his chief captains conspiring together, made such a scambling division of the empire, amongst themselves, as they could[t]: every one almost, notwithstanding, seeking how he might suppress the rest, and attain the whole alone to himself. So as, thereupon, the Jews were as free from the Macedonians, as any other of their bordering neighbours; none of the said captains having any lawful interest, or title, to Juda. But that which turned to the benefit of some others, brought a great detriment (for want of ability) unto them: for one of the said captains, having gotten to himself a very strong kingdom in Syria, and another of them in Egypt, the Jews dwelling betwixt them both, were miserable, on every side vexed by them[u]. Sometimes the Egyptians,

[q] 'Lawfully have.' *D.*

[r] The word 'placet' is here accidentally omitted by the copyist of *MS. A.*

[s] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xi. 8. § 5.]

[t] [Id. § 7.]

[u] [Id. xii. 1. § 1.]

by oppression and force, brought them under their subjection, and imposed great tributes upon them [x]: and sometimes the Syrians, growing mightier than the Egyptians, did likewise very greatly afflict them; especially in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes [y], whose invasion and government was most unjust and tyrannical. He shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, spoiled the temple, erecting in it the abominations of the Gentiles, and caused it to be named the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The books of the law, by his commandment, were cut in pieces and burnt; and they with whom they were found, were put to death. A general commandment was, by him, published, that they should offer no more sacrifices, nor circumcise their children, nor execute any other parts of their own law in the service of God; but wholly to conform themselves therein to the manner of the Gentiles. Whereupon the people, by heaps forsook the Lord, and offered sacrifices to idols; and such as refused so to do, choosing rather to obey God than man, were most cruelly slain and murthered, by thousands [z]; until Mattathias, moved with the monstrous cruelty and tyranny of the said Antiochus, made open resistance [a]; the government of that tyrant being not then, either generally received by submission, or settled by continuance. It is not pertinent to our purpose, to intermeddle with sundry questions which might here arise. Only we observe that Mattathias undertook that charge; that he commanded [b] the same afterwards to his sons [c], and that it continued in them, and their posterity, until both they and that whole [d] country were vanquished by the Romans.

1 Mac. 1. 34.

2 Mac. 6. 2, 4.

67

PLACET EIS.

* CANON XXXI.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the Jews, generally, both priests and people, were not the subjects of Alexander, after his authority was settled amongst them, as

[x] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xii. 1. § 1.]
[y] [Id. iii. § 3.]
[z] [Id. v. and vi.]
[a] [Id. vi. § 2.]
[b] 'Commended.' *D.*
[c] [Id. § 3.]
[d] 'Their whole.' *D.*

BOOK I.

they had been before the subjects of the kings of Babylon and Persia: or, that they might lawfully have borne arms against him: or, that they were not all bound to pray for the long life and prosperity, both of Alexander and of his empire, as they had been bound before, to pray for the life and prosperity of the other said kings and their kingdoms, whilst they lived under their subjection: or, consequently, that they might lawfully, upon[e] [any] occasion whatsoever, have offered violence and destruction, either to their persons or to their kingdoms, for the long continuance and prosperity whereof they were bound to pray[f]: or that, after the Jews were delivered from their servitude under the kings of Syria, and the government over them was settled in Mattathias his posterity, it was lawful for the people, upon any occasion, to have rebelled against them, or to have offered violence unto their persons, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The afflictions which the Jews endured, whilst the government of the Grecians lasted, were much the more grievous unto them, by reason of the great disorders which were then amongst their priests. For whereas they should have been a stay and a comfort unto them in their greater miseries; their negligence one way, and their ambition another way, in striving about the high-priesthood, did so distract them into parts taking, as that thereby great effusion of blood did oftentimes ensue. Shortly after Jaddus his time, this was the general report, which, for their wickedness, was given out of them, the priests were now no more diligent about the service of the altar[g], but despised the temple, and regarded not the sacrifices. They did not set by the honour of their

2 Mac. 4. 14.

[e] 'Upon occasion whatsoever.' *MS. A.*

[f] The 'placet' is omitted in *A.* at the bottom of p. 67.

[g] 'About the altar.' *D.*

fathers, but liked of the glory of the Gentiles most of all. The temple was full of dissoluteness and gluttony of the Gentiles; which dallied with harlots, and had to do with women within the circuit of holy places; and brought in such things as were not lawful. The altar also was full of such things as were abominable, and forbidden by the law; and two or three of the High-Priests applauded thereunto. Simon [h], the High-Priest, leaving three sons behind him, Onias, Jason, and Menelaus, was not long dead, but Jason for three hundred and sixty talents of silver, procured such assistance of Antiochus king of Syria, as he thrust his elder brother Onias out of the high-priesthood; and not long after had the same measure repaid unto him again by his younger brother Menelaus; who, upon some cunning information, and for six hundred and sixty talents, got that place himself. Whereupon Jason assembled forces, drave Menelaus into a castle, slew the citizens without mercy, and in the end being repulsed, died abroad as an exile. Menelaus afterwards caused his eldest brother, Onias, to be murthered, because he blamed him for stealing certain vessels of gold out of the temple. Next Menelaus succeeded Alcimus, whereas Onias, the son of Onias before mentioned, should in right have had that dignity [i]. Of all which four persons, eminent in their time, these things are left for records to posterity. Jason to get Antiochus his good will for the high-priesthood, promised him, besides his great bribe, to set up a school of gentilism; likewise to build a brothel-house by the temple; and that the people of Hierusalem should be named Antiochians, after the king's name. He drew his kinsmen to the custom of the Gentiles, and sent to Tyrus three hundred drachms of silver for a sacrifice to Hercules [k]. Menelaus also took the like course, or rather a worse; for besides that, he conformed himself wholly in effect to the manners of the Grecians, it is further thus written of him; Antiochus went into the most holy temple, having Menelaus, that traitor to the laws, and to his own country, to be his guide. He thrust himself into the king's army against Judas Maccabeus, and the city of Hierusalem;

2 Mac. 6. 4.

69

2 Mac. 5. 5.

2 Mac. 4. 34.

2 Mac. 5. 15. 2 Mac. 13. 3.

[h] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xii. 6. [See note G.]

[i] [Id. xii. 5. § 1. and 8. § 5.]

[k] [Id.]

BOOK I.

hoping thereupon to have attained that government. But Lysias the king's lieutenant, crossed his purpose therein, and informed the king that he, the said Menelaus[l], had been 70
[l] followed
the cause of all the mischiefs which had ensued[l] the wars with the Jews; as being the man who persuaded his father Antiochus Epiphanes, to compel them to forsake the laws of their fathers; adding thereunto, that whilst Menelaus lived, the Jews would never be quiet. Whereupon the king commanding him to be put to death, he was smothered in ashes;
2 Mac. 13. 8.
because he had committed many sins by the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy[m]. Alcimus the High-Priest, next succeeding, was no sooner in his place, but he took upon
1 Mac. 7. 5.
him to be the captain of all the ungodly men of Israel, and solicited king Demetrius to make war against Judas Maccabeus, complaining that he had killed all the king's friends. The king thus instigated, sent an army against Hierusalem, with one Bacchides and Alcimus; who, pretending that they came in peace, and being thereupon trusted by the Maccabees themselves (because he was a priest of the seed of Aaron), did traiterously notwithstanding, and treacherously, murther sundry of the Jews, and held the government of
1 Mac. 9.
that country, till Judas Maccabeus put him to flight[n]. Howbeit, accusing the Maccabees again of wicked things, he urged afterwards the said king to send a new army against them, and was himself, as it seemeth, in the host, when Judas Maccabeus was slain[o]. Besides, it is also reported of him, how he commanded that the walls of the inner court of
ver. 54.
the sanctuary should be destroyed, and how he pulled down the monuments of the prophets, and how in that his so wicked and profane an attempt, he was stricken with the palsy, and died with great torment[p]. Now concerning Onias, (who if he had been of lawful age, and might have had his right, ought to have been High-Priest before both his uncles, Jason and Menelaus,) when he perceived that Alcimus had gotten that place, and saw no probability how he might get it from him, he fled into Egypt, and there procured a temple to be built, like unto that in Hierusalem; 71

[l] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xii. 15. [See note H.]
[m] Id. [See note G.]
[n] [Id. 10. § 5.]
[o] [Id. 11. § 2.]
[p] [Id. 10. § 6.]

whereof he was made the principal ruler [q]. So greedy was he of the high-priesthood, that seeing he might not be High-Priest in Hierusalem, he would needs be a High-Priest in Egypt, against God's commandment.

But perhaps the high-priesthood amongst the Jews was better bestowed afterwards. Indeed now it came into the hands of the Maccabees; but how they used it there is little mention. It is probable, that being so distracted as they were, and so continually in a manner vexed with wars, they had no time to execute that office in such sort as otherwise divers of them no doubt would have done. But it cannot be denied that some of that rank were greatly puffed up with that authority, and did thereby much forget themselves, and the holy duties appertaining to the high-priesthood. Else would not Aristobulus have so unnaturally famished his own mother to death [r], nor have suffered the cruel murther of his innocent brother, Antigonus [s]; nor would Alexander, succeeding Aristobulus, have committed the like murther upon his younger brother [t]; or would afterwards the two sons of the said Alexander (viz. Hircanus and Aristobulus) have grown through their ambitious desires to such mortal hatred. For Aristobulus thrusting his eldest brother Hircanus from the high-priesthood, and he the said Hircanus continuing still his claim, they never ceased their hostility [u], till Pompey having subdued them both, brought both them and the whole country under the subjection of the Romans [x]. We omit what great sums of money they bestowed on either side, to procure Pompey's favour [y]: to whom they had committed the deciding of their causes [z]; and also how Hircanus assisted Pompey in his attempt against Hierusalem [a], partly in hope thereby to get the high-priesthood, and partly in malice against his brother; who, as long as he could, defended that city: the issue of all which strife was
72 this; Pompey subdued the city; slew twelve thousand men [b]; Aristobulus is put from the high-priesthood; the civil

[q] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xii. 8. § 5.]
[r] 'Own mother, nor have.' *D.*
[s] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xiii. 11. § 1.]
[t] [Id. xiv. § 2.]
[u] [Id. xvi. § 1, &c.; xiv. 1. § 2, &c.]
[x] [Id. iv. § 1, 2, &c.]
[y] [Id. iii. § 1, 2.]
[z] [Id. § 2.]
[a] [Id. iv. § 2.]
[b] Id. xiv. 8. [See note K.]

BOOK I.

government is separated again from the priesthood[c]; the high-priesthood is bestowed upon Hircanus for his service, and the civil government thenceforth translated to strangers; the temple was spoiled, and Hierusalem was made tributary to the people of Rome[d]. Of all which calamities falling in this sort upon the Jews, the dissention betwixt Hircanus and Aristobulus was held in those days to have been the cause[e]; to the great blemish of their credits, professing themselves to be God's High-Priests. Besides, whilst Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus, and the Maccabees were busied in the said un-priestly contentions and Greekish profanations, divers sects of religion arose and increased amongst the Jews; especially that of the Pharisees, a crafty and an arrogant kind of men, seditiously bent against kings[f], and impugners without fear of their authority[g]. In which course they were the rather animated, because they found through their hypocrisy, that women were generally addicted unto them, and that the people did so admire them, as they believed in effect whatsoever they told them against any, although it were never so false, or maliciously devised by them[h]. And thus religion went in those days, when the priests had gotten the reins into their own hands, although we doubt not but that there were some few, notwithstanding, both of the priests and of the people, who disliking of all their said hypocritical, ambitious, profane, and wicked practices (covered sometimes with a pretence of zeal, and sometimes with the glorious name of the high-priesthood) did truly from their hearts, both fear and serve the Lord.

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXXII.

73

If any man therefore (because in the law of God there was great obedience to the High-Priest, prescribed and required; [Mal. 2. 7.] or, that it is said by the prophet, That the priest's lips should

[c] 'Again from the high-priesthood.' *D.*

[d] [Jos. Antiq. Jud. xiv. 4. § 4.]

[e] [Id. § 5.]

[f] 'Against their kings.' *D.*

[g] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xvii. 13. [See note L.]

[h] Id. xiii. 23. [See note M.]

preserve knowledge, and that the people should seek the law of his mouth: whereas the meaning of the Holy Ghost in those — BOOK I. —
and such like places, only is, that the High-Priests were to be obeyed when they commanded that which was not repugnant to the law of God; and that the[i] lips of the priests ought to preserve knowledge) shall affirm either that it was not wickedly done by the priests, to thrust the people into many imminent dangers, for the maintenance of their lewd quarrels and factions: or, that they did not grievously offend God, when they forsook His true worship, and brought heathenish and profane sacrifices into His temple: or, that the people were bound to obey, when they required them to conform themselves to the idolatrous worship of the heathen: or, that it was lawful for any of the said High-Priests, by injury, bribery, or cruelty, to seek the high-priesthood: or, that the priests and people, that joined
74 with them, did not wickedly, who assisted Pompey to invade Hierusalem, and to bring their own country in bondage to the Romans: or that any such pharisaical sects (never ordained by God) were lawfully then permitted, to seduce the simpler sort of the people, leading them into factions and dislike of their superiors, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Jews being subdued by the Romans, and brought under their subjection, about sixty years before the coming of Christ, were used by them very kindly, and with great respect. They had liberty granted unto them to live according to their own laws; so as they paid their tributes, and framed their behaviour to quietness and obedience. Hircanus, the High-Priest, placed by Pompey, lived long after in great authority[k]. But nothing would satisfy them;

[i] The 'placet' is omitted at the bottom of this page.

[k] Jos. de Bell. Jud. vi. 11. [See note N.]

BOOK I.

till in the end, it came to pass, that as the ambition and strife betwixt Hircanus and Aristobulus, brought Pompey upon them; so now their own wickedness, and rebellious hearts, were the cause of their greater servitude, afflictions and miseries. The remnant of the Maccabees (Aristobulus and his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus) would never desist from their rebellious attempts, until they were all cut off. Antipater, their first governor, or procurator, appointed by the Romans, was poisoned by one Malicus[l], hoping thereby, that Hircanus, the High-Priest, might have gotten a more absolute authority, and have been their chief governor. Alexander[m] the son of Aristobulus, had been 75
before very troublesome, and carried many after him to their destruction; but Antigonus, his brother, did far exceed him; who, by the help of the Parthians, rose up against Herod, the successor of Antipater, and taking that government upon him, cut off Hircanus, his uncle's ears, that thereby he might be unable afterwards to bear any more, to his prejudice, the office of the Highest-Priest[n]. But shortly after he was subdued, and put to death[o]; and his father before him was poisoned by Pompey's followers[p]. Howbeit, no sooner were these Maccabees thus suppressed, but divers other rebellious persons thrust forward the people into arms, under pretence of the love they bare to their country, and to the ancient liberties thereof. In which their wicked fury, sometimes they were content to follow this man, as their king, and sometimes that man; such as were one Simon, one Athroges[q], [r] and one Manahemus[s]; all of them very lewd and base companions: and at some other time every rebellious rout or company would needs have a king of their own; whereby, in every corner of that commonwealth, there was a petty king, who still led the people, by heaps, to the slaughter, and perished themselves with them[t]. Also there were some amongst them, who finding no good success,

[l] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xiv. 18, 19. [See note O.]
[m] Id. 10. [See note P.]
[n] Id. 13. [See note Q.]
[o] [Id. xv. 1. § 2.]
[p] [Id. xiv. 7. § 4.]
[q] 'Athronges.' *D.*
[r] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xvii. 12. [See note R.]
[s] Jos. de Bell. Jud. ii. 17. [See note S.]
[t] Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. 1, 2. [See note T.]

by having of such kings, did run into a contrary course, affirming it to be unlawful for the Jews to acknowledge any man, but God Himself, to be their king; and that they ought rather to suffer death, than to call any man lord[u]. The sum is, that notwithstanding any distractions[x], dissensions, or bloody combats amongst themselves, which were very many and strange, their hearts were so hardened in rebellion against the Romans and their governors, as they refused either to pay them any more tribute, or to pray for them; but standing upon their walls, when they were
76 besieged, *Cæsari, et patri ejus maledicebant*[y]. There was never, we think, so obstinate and desperate a people; for, in their greatest extremities, and when they saw nothing but imminent death, destruction of the temple, and the extirpation of their whole nation, no reasonable conditions or persuasions could move them. Titus himself made a notable oration unto them[z], and commanded Josephus to deliver his mind at another time more amply, if it had been possible to have reclaimed them; which duty, so imposed upon him, Josephus performed very eloquently. He told them, 'that although the Romans had dealt sometimes very hardly with them, yet their rebellion was ever the cause of it: that albeit men might lawfully fight in defence of their country, when it was invaded by any; yet being subdued, and a new government settled amongst them, it was not lawful, by rebellion, under pretence of liberty, to cast off that yoke; that their forefathers being in bondage, under the kings of Egypt and Babylon, and divers times in many other distresses, did never of themselves, by force of arms, seek their liberty, or deliverance; but ever expected the Lord's leisure, Who always, in due time, had compassion upon them; and that although they were then in the greatest distress that ever people were, and could expect nothing but utter ruin and desolation, yet if then they would submit themselves, they might be received to mercy. For, saith he, the Romans ask but their ordinary tribute, which your forefathers paid unto their predecessors: and if yet they might obtain[a] the

BOOK I.

[u] Jos. de Bell. Jud. ii. 7. [See note U.]
[x] 'Any great distractions.' *D.*
[y] Jos. de Bell. Jud. vi. 12. [See note V.]
[z] [Id. v. 9. § 2.]
[a] 'May obtain.' *D.*

BOOK I. same, they will neither destroy your city, nor touch your sanctuary; but grant unto you freely your families, your possessions, and the practice of your sacred laws.' But all these offers they refused [b]. Howbeit the compassion of Titus towards them still continuing, he again, when they saw their destruction more apparently, required the said Josephus to deliver his mind to the same effect, to their 77
chief captain, that he had done before to the people: which he accomplished, but in the hearing again of the people, very thoroughly; and in the end, finding them obstinate, 'I myself deserve blame,' saith he, *quia hæc, adversus fata, suadeo; Deique sententiâ condemnatos servare contendo* [c]. Whereupon, shortly after, Titus, protesting how loath he was thereunto [d], assailed them with all his forces, which slew an infinite number of them, burnt the temple, and destroyed the city [e]. Since which time, they that then escaped, and the rest of all the race of the Jews, have been dispersed far and near, and lived like a cursed generation, in all slavery and servitude. So that, although we doubt not but that this heavy judgment of God fell upon them principally for the hardness of their hearts, in that they did not only refuse to hear the voice of our Saviour Christ, but likewise most maliciously, unjustly, and shamefully put Him to death, yet the immediate and apparent cause of it was their never-before-heard-of-like obstinate rebellion.

[PLACET EIS.]

CANON XXXIII.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that Aristobulus, the father, or either of his two sons, Alexander or Antigonus, having all of them submitted themselves to the government of the Romans, did not sin, when afterwards they rebelled against them: or, that Maticus did not very wickedly in poisoning of Antipater, because he thought thereby the better to strengthen Hircanus in his high-priesthood: or, that the people ought

[b] [Jos. de Bell. Jud. v. 9. § 3, &c.] § 5, &c.]
[c] [See note W.] [e] [Id. vi. 4.]
[d] [Jos. de Bell. Jud. vi. 2. § 1. 4. 3.

78 not to detest all such seditious persons, as under pretence of liberty and religion, shall solicit them to rebellion: or, that the Jews were not bound, both to have paid their tribute, and to have prayed for Cæsar without dissimulation, sincerely and truly, notwithstanding any pretence of tyranny, which they had wilfully drawn upon their own heads, or of any cause whatsoever: or, that such as cursed Cæsar, their chief governor, did not thereby deserve any corporal punishment, which is due to be inflicted upon such traitors: or, that the rebellion against any king, absolute prince, or civil magistrate, for any cause whatsoever, is not a sin very detestable in the sight of God, and therefore by all that fear the Lord to be eschewed, because it ever tendeth to mischief, and sometimes to the overthrow of the kingdom, principality, and country [f], where it is raised, he doth greatly err. BOOK I.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

We have spoken in the former chapter [g] of the rebellion of the Jews against [h] their civil governors, and the success thereof. We made no [i] mention, either of the priests, or of 79 any of those sects of religion which then bare sway amongst them. Indeed it is likely that if they had done their duties, the people upon their repentance might have regained God's favour, and prevented that utter desolation: but it happened otherwise, two factious persons, Judas and Matthias, the best learned men of the Jews, and the most skilful interpreters of the laws of their country, growing into great favour with the people, because of their said skill, and for that they took great pains in teaching of their children, professing that they would refuse none that had any desire to be virtuously brought up, did thereupon draw unto them many disciples; and the rather, for that they

[f] The *MS. A.* here faultily reads 'contrary.'

[g] [Chap. xxxiii.]

[h] 'Amongst.' *MS. A.*

[i] The word 'no' is added above the line in the *MS. A.* in red chalk.

BOOK I. pretended themselves to be *propugnatores pietatis.* The issue of which godly pretence was, that having thereby got a number to follow them, they stirred them up to sedition against the civil magistrate, under colour, that in contempt of their laws he had made some innovation. But they were presently vanquished; Matthias and divers others were put to death; and the High-Priest himself, as having his part in that sedition, was deprived from that dignity [k]. When Herod upon occasion caused his subjects to bind themselves by an oath, *quod non decessuri essent a fide, et officio,* the Pharisees refused to take that oath: whom he forbare at that time, because he favoured greatly one Pollio, a chief man of that sect [l]. But about fifteen years after, when it was again thought fit to have the like oath ministered, and that all the whole nation of the Jews did accordingly take the same, and thereby bound their faith and allegiance, both to Herod and unto Cæsar, saving the Pharisees, being then in number six thousand, who would not yet be induced to take it; they were censured and fined for their offence; and divers of them thereupon entering into some traiterous courses and conspiracies, with sundry courtiers, against their prince, they were, as they deserved, put in like manner to death [m].

Not long after, another sect sprung up; whereof the chief 80
heads were Judas Gaulonites, Sadue a Pharisee, Judas Galilæus, and one Simon of Galilee, who professed themselves to be *propugnatores libertatis publicæ* [n]. These men were so far from moving the people to obedience, as they stirred them up, as much as they could possibly, to rebellion; telling them, that to undergo any impositions or taxes, was manifest acknowledgment of their servitude, and that it was a shame for them to pay tribute to the Romans, or *dominos post Deum ferre mortales:* by which means they perturbed the whole nation, and filled every place with their robberies and slaughters; under pretence indeed of defending their countries, *sed revera privatorum lucrorum studio.* Also it was

[k] Jos. Ant. Jud. xvii. 18. [See note X.]
[l] Id. xv. 13. [See note Y.]
[m] Id. xvii. 13. [See note Z.]
[n] Id. xviii. 1, 2; de Bell. Jud. ii. 7; Antiq. Jud. xviii. 1; de Bell. Jud. ii. 7. [See note AA.]

Eleazarus, the son of Ananias, the High-Priest, who would not suffer the inferior priests to offer sacrifices, and prayers, as formerly had been accustomed [o], for the long life and prosperity of the emperor; nor could be drawn by any persuasion from his obstinacy therein, but proceeded from evil to worse; and so excited the people to arms, as his rebellious course therein was held to be the seminary and matter of those Roman wars which overthrew that nation [p]. It is true that the High-Priests were not themselves so busy as the inferior priests that lived under them. For the Romans suspecting, of likelihood, that if the priesthood should have been held by succession, and for term of life, by the chief persons of Aaron's posterity, the same might have grown dangerous unto their government, did thereupon take order, that the princes and presidents which ruled in that country should have the appointing of such as should be High-Priests, to be chosen by them out of Aaron's kindred; and that they should also have authority to alter and change them from time to time, as they found occasion. Whereby the high-priesthood became to be but an annual dignity; 81 and sometimes it was not held so long [q], which caused them for the most part to keep themselves from entering into any actual rebellion against their governors; though otherwise they were in effect as hollow-hearted unto them as any other of the priests. For albeit in their hatred and malice against Christ, they could say, 'We have no king but Cæsar;' and tell Pilate flatly, that if he delivered Christ, 'he was not Cæsar's friend:' yet what their private opinions were, doth plainly appear, by their sending of the Pharisees unto Christ with their entangling questions; to know of Him whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not: supposing if He were not a dissembler, as they themselves were, that He would deny it to be lawful, and so should incur the danger thereunto appertaining; or if He answered that it was lawful, He might thereby bring upon Him the hatred of the people; whom they suffered, for aught that we find to the contrary, to be brought up in the rebellious doctrine of

Joh. 19. 15, 12.

Mat. 22. 17. Mark 12. 14. Lu. 20. 22.

[o] Jos. Antiq. Jud. xii. 1. [See note BB.]

[p] Id. de Bell. Jud. ii. 17. [See note CC.]

[q] Id. Antiq. Jud. xviii. 3; and xx. 8. [See note DD.]

BOOK I.

some of the Pharisees, and to hold it unlawful to pay tribute unto Cæsar. Besides, what a false, ignorant, and wicked generation they were, is manifest by the whole course which they held with our Saviour Christ. It being most agreeable[r] to the just judgment of God, that the most impious hypocrites, who then lived, should be the chief actors in the crucifying of Christ; which was the most horrible fact that ever was committed.

[PLACET EIS.]

CANON XXXIV.

If any man therefore shall affirm, either that because the civil magistrate had made some innovation, which they liked not, or for any other respect, the said Judas and Matthias might lawfully move the people to rebellion, though otherwise they taught men's children never so diligently: or, that the Pharisees in refusing to bind their allegiance and faith to Cæsar, by an oath, did not thereby shew themselves to be traiterously affected towards him: or, that it was not a seditious doctrine, to be detested of all good subjects, which Judas Gaulonites, and his fellows, delivered to the people, in teaching them to refuse all taxations imposed by the Romans, their lawful magistrates; and rather to rebel than to pay any tribute unto them: or, that they did not very grievously sin, both the High-Priest's son and the rest, who either refused to offer sacrifice, or to pray for Cæsar: or, that the High-Priests then were not a wicked brood, degenerated far from their first institution; or, that they did not greatly offend God, in permitting the people to be infected by their inferior priests, and other religious persons, with any of the said false positions, and traiterous conceits: or, that they, the said High-Priests, did not most grossly err in all those points, and particulars, wherein they opposed themselves against the person and doctrine of our Saviour Christ, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

[r] 'Being agreeable.' *D.*

83 CHAPTER XXXV. BOOK I.

We have followed thus far that mild and moderate form of civil government, which God Himself established, and preserved in the lines of Seth and Sem, until, through the obstinate rebellion, from time to time, of the Jews, the fame and the authority thereof were first greatly diminished, and afterwards taken wholly away from them. But it is further to be considered, that as in the first chapter we have shewed the creation of all the world to be ascribed to the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, so is the government of it, in the same sense, attributed unto Him. 'The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is; the round world, and all that dwell therein.' Whereupon He was called ordinarily, Ps. 24. 1. in the Old Testament, *Dominator, Dominus*, the 'Lord of Hosts,' the God and possessor of heaven and earth. So as Isa. 3. 1. Jer. 31. 35. Ezra 1. 5. [? 2.] He being the universal lord and ruler over all the world, the whole world was His universal kingdom; in the government whereof He ever used the ministry of civil magistrates, as well in other countries as amongst His own peculiar people of Israel, without any desert of theirs, but as in His heavenly providence He thought it most convenient. 'I have made,' saith He, 'the earth, the man, and the beasts that are upon the ground, and have given it to whom it pleaseth Me:' and again, the prophet Daniel telleth us that [Jer. 27. 5. Dan. 2. 14, 15 [? 2. 21.] 'God changeth the times and seasons, that He hath power, and beareth rule over the kingdoms of men;' that 'He taketh away kings, and setteth up kings:' and that it was the God of heaven, Who gave unto Nebuchadnezzar so great a kingdom, power, strength and glory, as then he had, to rule, Dan. 2. 37. [Id. 5. 18.] with majesty and honour, a very great empire. In respect whereof, although kings and princes might have been satisfied with the titles of lieutenants or vicegerents in earth
84 to the Son of God, yet He did communicate and impart so much of His power, authority, and dignity unto them, as He was content to style them with His own name: 'I have said, [Ps. 82. 6.] you are gods, and the children of the Most High.'

Howbeit, for all their said dignity and greatness, He did not leave them at liberty to do what they list, but held Himself the helm of every kingdom, and used their services

BOOK I. in such sort, as were they good or bad, and their designments holy or wicked, He ever made them the executioners of His own just judgments, will and good pleasure; according as He was minded, either to bless or to punish any kingdom, people or country. In regard of which His might, providence, and wisdom, whereby He ruleth them after that sort, He is called the Lord of lords, the King of glory, and the God of gods; that is, of the kings, princes, judges and rulers of the earth. And it may not here be omitted, which indeed ariseth of the premises, that the Son of God, in disposing of the government, under Him, of the earth, did not appoint any one man to be the sole monarch of the world; as from whom all other kingdoms, governments, kings and princes should receive their directions, and unto whom they should be subject. It is true, that Adam, whilst he lived, was the chief governor under the Son of God, over all his own offspring; and that Noah likewise, during life, had the like authority.

Ps. 124. 10; [? 24. 10.]
Id. 50. 1.

But when, after the flood, the issue of Sem, Cham, and Japhet grew to a great people, their father, Noah, did not commit to any one of them the government of the rest, and of all of their posterity, but divided the whole world amongst them three[s]: and from them, no one sole monarch or monarchy, but many kings, principalities, kingdoms and governments, by God's providence have descended. *

It is more than probable, that if the Son of God had been pleased to have committed to any one man, a government of so large an extent, He would have trusted His servant king David with it, being a man according to His own heart. But the kingdom of Israel, wherein David reigned, was bounded within the strait limits assigned to the twelve tribes. And such other kings as swerved, after that time, from David's mild and temperate government, and took upon them the titles of monarchies, having enlarged their kingdoms by injury and oppression of their neighbours, were, in their pride and greediness, but the scourges and rods of God's indignation, and had their fatal ends accordingly. So as where the prophet Daniel, speaking of the kingdom of

[1Sam.13. 14. Acts 13. 22.]

s [ ]

* [See chap. vi.]

Nebuchadnezzar, calleth him 'king of kings,' and saith 'that he was the ruler over all places wherein the children of men dwelt;' and Cyrus, the king of Persia, affirmeth that the 'Lord God of heaven had given him all the kingdoms of the earth:' forasmuch as it is apparent, both by the Scriptures and other histories, that neither of them both had the tenth part of the world under their jurisdiction; and that there were very many kings, who had absolute government in their kingdoms, and were no ways subject unto them; the said places of necessity must receive this exposition, that either they are to be understood hyperbolically, whereby, to express the greatness of a thing, it is said to be bigger than it was; or by a synecdoche, which useth the whole sometimes for a part; or according to the usual phrase of the Scriptures, where all are often taken for many: or else both Daniel and Cyrus spake after the manner of the Chaldeans and Persians, who, to extol the greatness of their kings, and the better to please them, did, peradventure, so enlarge and amplify the style.

BOOK I. Dan. ii. 37. Ezra i. 2.

PLACET EIS.

86

CANON XXXV.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that the Son of God, according to the doctrine of the Old Testament, was not the governor of all the world: or, that He did not appoint under Him divers kings, princes and civil magistrates, to rule and govern in the kingdoms and places assigned unto them: or, that having so appointed them, He did not Himself direct, uphold, and rule them by His omnipotence, according to His divine wisdom; and might not, in that respect, be truly called the Lord of lords, and the God of gods: or, that all the world, and the particular kingdoms and civil kinds of government in the world were not in respect of the Son of God, as He is the governor of the world, and the Lord of lords, and God of gods, one kingdom, principality or government, thereby to impeach the mild and[1] temperate government which He had

[1] 'Temporal regal,' *MS. A.*, erroneously.

BOOK I. established amongst the Jews[u]: or, that He ever committed the government of all the world, after Adam and Noah's times, to any one man, to be the sole and visible monarch of it: or, that the said kingdom of Christ, as He was the Lord of lords, and God of gods, and so governed the whole world, s- was otherwise visible upon the earth, than *per partes*, viz. by the particular kingdoms and kinds of civil government, or perhaps by some representation, he doth greatly err.

PLACET EIS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

As there hath been from the beginning one universal kingdom throughout all the world, whereof the Son of God was ever the sole, though invisible, monarch, as we have shewed in the former chapter[x]: so it is generally agreed upon amongst all Christians, that from the creation of mankind during the times aforesaid, there hath always been one Universal or Catholic Church; which began in Adam, and afterward, as his posterity multiplied, both before and after the flood, was dispersed over the face of the whole earth; and whereof the Son of God likewise was always the head and sole, though invisible, monarch. The foundation of which Church was ever one and the same rock, to wit, Jesus Christ, the promised 'seed of the woman, that should break [Gen. 3. 15.] the serpent's head:' and as many persons, families, societies, and companies, as truly believed in that blessed Seed, without exception of any sort, or distinction of people, were the true members and parts of the Catholic Church. For the death of our Saviour Christ, which long after did actually ensue, was virtually, through faith, as effectual to all believers before His passion, as it hath been since. In respect whereof [Heb. 13. 8.] the Holy Ghost did not only affirm that 'Jesus Christ was the same,' that is, the 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and 88 redemption,' of those that believed in Him, 'yesterday,' that is,

[u] The *MS. A.* incorrectly omits the word 'or.'

[x] [Chap. xxxv.]

before and after the law, as 'to-day,' that is, now in the time of the New Testament: but likewise, that He was the 'Lamb slain from the beginning of the world:' because His death and passion, being ever as present in the view and sight of God the Father, before whom 'a thousand years are but as one day,' the same was typically represented by sacrifices and effectual Sacraments; and the merits thereof have from the beginning been communicated to all believers. So that although in imitation of the Scriptures, we have spoken hitherto but of one particular Church, and of the succession of it in the lines of Seth and Sem; yet have there been other particular Churches in all ages, which were built upon the said rock and promised Seed. Cain offered his sacrifice to God as well as Abel; though it was not for his sins accepted: and it is not to be doubted but that every chief family of his posterity had their priests and public worship of God, albeit mingled with some such superstition and idolatry as offended God, and made them less acceptable in His sight. For as of the posterity of Seth many perished, so we are to judge on the other side, that many of Cain's line died in God's favour: except we should think, against the rules of charity, that the curse which fell upon Cain, killing his brother Abel, did cause his offspring to become as brute beasts: whereas having Adam their grandfather, it is more than probable that he did better instruct them, and prevailed at least with some of them. Likewise after the flood, all Noah's offspring, being one Church under him, and grounded upon Christ the true foundation of it, although afterwards, when they were settled in their several countries allotted unto them, they swerved greatly from that purity in religion which Noah had taught them, yet they had still their priests, their sacrifices, and some outward worship of God amongst them.

BOOK I.

[Rev. 13. 8.]

[2 Pet. 3. 8.]

[Gen. 4. 3, 5.]

89 Besides, hitherto all the world being as one people, if there were then any visible Churches at all upon the earth, it cannot be truly said that the calling of Abraham out of Chaldæa, and the erecting of the true worship of God in his family, did make them to be in worse case than they were before. If Churches before, they so continued after, though superstitious and idolatrous Churches. Again, it is generally

BOOK I.

held that God did not therefore distinguish the Jews from other nations and people, and settle His public worship amongst them, as purposing thereby that His Catholic Church, in their times, should only consist of them and of their nations, and such other proselytes as would be circumcised and join themselves unto them: but much more because by that means the truth and certainty of all the promises and prophecies concerning the coming of the Messias, might be faithfully and diligently observed, and kept in one nation, and visible known place and people. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that after the said distinction, many of the Gentiles served God, and believed in Christ, and were thereby made the true members of the Catholic Church, though they were not circumcised, nor had any meddling with, or dependency upon the Jews. Some are particularly named; as Job, Jethro, Rahab, the Ninevites, the widow of Sarepta, Naaman, Cornelius, and some others: by whom we are not only to judge of their families and governments, that they were so many particular Churches, but likewise, that in every country and people, many such godly men from time to time might have been found, who with their families, and peradventure subjects, were so to be held and esteemed of.

[Job 2. 3, &c.] [Exod. 18. 12.] [Jas. 2. 25.] [Mat. 12. 41.] [Lu. 4. 26.] [Lu. 4. 27.] [Acts 10. 2.]

We will not enter into the discussing of these places, how far they may be extended. Without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh to God, must believe that God is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him. In the Word was life, and the life was the light of men. Is God the God only of the Jews, and not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also: for it is one God, Who doth justify circumcision by faith, and [the] uncircumcised through faith. I have other sheep, which are not of this fold. Only we do further observe, that it was lawful for any of the Gentiles to come into the outward court of the temple, to bring their sacrifices unto the Lord, and there to offer up their prayers likewise unto Him: that accordingly, they did often resort to the temple for devotion's sake, there to worship God: as by the examples of the eunuch of Ethiopia, and of certain Grecians, it is[y] mentioned in the Scriptures:

Heb. 11. 6. Joh. 1. 4. 90

Rom. 3. 29, 30. Joh. 10. 16.

1 Kings 8. 41. Acts 8. 27.

Joh. 12. 20.

[y] 'That are mentioned.' *D.*

and that many of them were so addicted to the true service of God, as the prophet Haggai calleth our Saviour Christ, *Desiderium Gentium*. So that the Catholic Church, consisting from the beginning till Abraham's time, of such only as were afterwards for distinction's sake called Gentiles; although God was then pleased to bestow His mercies more plentifully upon that one particular Church of the Jews, deduced from Abraham, than upon any other, or indeed upon all the rest, for the principal causes before specified; yet they were not utterly so rejected, or cast out of God's favour, but that many of them did continue as dutiful children in the lap and bosom of the said Catholic Church. Of which Catholic Church, it is true that Adam and Noah, for their times, were, under Christ, the chief governors. Howbeit afterward the posterity of Noah being mightily increased, when thereupon he distributed the whole world among his three sons, and their issue, he did not appoint any one of them to be the ruler of the said Catholic Church, but left the government of every particular family or Church unto their chief heads, princes and priests, and of the whole to the Son of God, and sole monarch of it, Who only was able to undertake such a charge. Neither do we read that
91 Aaron, or any of the High-Priests, took upon them at any time to extend their jurisdiction beyond the bounds and limits of the twelve tribes; or so much as once dream that the whole world was their diocese: that which they had being more than indeed[z] they well ordered.

BOOK I. [Hag. ii. 7.]

PLACET EIS.

CANON XXXVI.

If any man therefore shall affirm either that during the continuance of the Old Testament, the merits of Christ's death actually to come, were not sufficient to save all true believers: or, that there was then no Catholic Church: or, that at any time there was any other rock but Jesus Christ, the blessed Seed, upon whom the Catholic Church was then

[z] 'Indeed more than.' *D.*

BOOK II.

built: or, that many of the Gentiles were not alkays, for aught that is knowen to the contrary, true members of the Catholic Church: or, that Christ Himself was not the sole head or monarch all that while of the whole Catholic Church: or, that the said Catholic Church, after the members of it were dispersed into all the places of the world, was otherwise bisible than *per partes*: or, that Noah did appoint any man to be the bisible head of the said Catholic Church: [a]or, that the High-Priest among the Jews had any more authority over the Catholic Church of God than king David had over the universal kingdom of God: or, that the said High Priest had not greatly sinned, if he had taken upon him, or usurped any such infinite authority, he doth greatly err[b].

PLACET EIS.

[a] The '*Placet*' is omitted at the bottom of this page of *MS. A.*

[b] See the various readings supplied by the Barlow MS. which are given in the Appendix.

CONCERNING THE

GOVERNMENT OF GOD'S CATHOLIC CHURCH,

AND THE

KINGDOMS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

93

BOOK SECOND.[a]

CHAPTER FIRST.

BOOK II.

In pursuing our intended course through the Old Testament, and until the destruction of Jerusalem, we over-slipped and passed by the fulness of that time wherein the Son of God, the maker and governor of all the world, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. So as now we are to return back, and prosecute our said course, as the[b] true grounds thereof are laid down, confirmed and practised in the New Testament. At the entrance whereinto, we confess ourselves to be greatly amazed[c], considering the strange impediments, and mighty stumbling-blocks, which, through long practice and incredible ambition, are cast in our way, in that we find the estate of that Church, which would rule over all, to be degenerated in our days, as far, in effect, from her primary and apostolical institution and rules, as we have shewed before, the estate of the Jewish Church to have swerved, through the like pride and ambition, from that excellent condition wherein she was first established, and afterward preserved and beautified by Moses, and king David, with the rest of his most worthy and godly successors[d]. For except

[a] In the *MS. A.* a new series of pagination commences. A new scribe has also been employed.

[b] 'As we find the true.' *D.*

[c] 'At our entrance into which course, we confess ourselves to be greatly astonished.' *D.*

[d] The passage with the words, 'in that we find the estate,' and ending with the sentence, are in the *MS. A.* enclosed in brackets.

BOOK II. we should condemn the Old Testament, as many ancient[e] heretics[f] have done, and thereupon overthrow all which hitherto we have built; and not that only, but should furthermore, either approve of their gross impiety who read the Scriptures of the New Testament as if they were falsified 94
and corrupted, and by receiving and rejecting as much of them as they list, do prefer before them, as not containing in them all necessary truth for man's salvation, certain obscure and apocryphal writings; or, should ourselves impiously imagine that the New Testament, as now we have it, was but a rough draught, and a fit project compiled for the time, by the Apostles, to be afterwards better ordered, polished, and supplied with certain human traditions and doctrine, by some of their successors: we can find[g] no authentical ground, nor sufficient warrant, in those writings, which ought to be the true rule of every Christian man's conscience, as not being there to be found, for any apostolical priest or bishop either to pretend that all the particular Churches in the world are under his government, or to tell the subjects of any Christian king, opposite in some points unto him, that they are no longer bound to obey him their said king, but until they shall be able, by force of arms, or by some secret practice, to subdue him; or to challenge to himself an absolute and universal authority and power over all kings and kingdoms in the world, to bestow them, in some cases, under pretence of religion, when he shall think the same to be most available, for the strengthening and upholding of such his pretended universal power and dominion. To the proof whereof, before we address ourselves, because the same doth much depend upon the admirable humiliation of the Son of God, in taking our nature upon Him, and performing the work of our salvation, in such a manner as He did, we have thought it our duties, lest otherwise we might be mistaken, either through weakness, simplicity, or malice, first, briefly to observe, notwithstanding our Saviour His said humiliation, the most wonderful dignity, pre-eminency and royalty of His person.

[e] Aug. de Hæres. cap. xlvi. [This reference is not in the *MS. A.* See note A.]

[f] 'Formerly' has here originally stood in the copy, but has been struck out.

[g] 'We can see.' *D.*

95 It is many ways apparent that the mean estate and condition of our Saviour Christ here upon earth, was one especial motive, both to the Jews and Gentiles, why, in their carnal judgments, He was to the one sort a scandal and to the other a scorn, as if He had been a man out of his wits, and preached He knew not what. In which respect, partly not only the people of the Jews, the priests of all sorts, the Scribes and Pharisees, with the rest of their hypocritical orders; but likewise the civil governors, as well Romans as Jews, did utterly despise Him, hate Him, deride Him, beat Him, and put Him to death. Since which time sundry sorts of heretics have stumbled at the same stone, labouring, by all the means they could, to impeach and dishonour the person of Christ, in regard of the mean show of His human nature[h], notwithstanding the many arguments which they might have found in the Scriptures, had not their hearts been hardened, of His divinity. On the other side also, we are not ignorant how the bishop of Rome and his adherents, —supposing it would too much impeach their credits and worldly reputations, if they should be too much pressed to deduce the principal strength of their estates and callings from the said mean condition of our Saviour Christ, whilst He lived in this world,—do thereupon attribute sundry virtues, powers and branches of authority unto His human nature, which do not, in truth, belong properly unto it, but are rather appertaining to His person, being both God and man[i]; as hoping thereby to get some fair pretences and colours for the upholding of their usurped greatness and pretended uncontroulable sovereignty. For the avoiding therefore of these extremities, and because such as deny the pope's supremacy are most falsely charged by sundry passionate and inconsiderate persons to be men that believe no one article of the Christian faith[k], we have thought it 96 meet to make it known to all the Christian world, how detestable to the Church of England all such false doctrine is, as doth any way not only impeach the sacred person of our Saviour Christ, but likewise the other two persons of the blessed Trinity, God the Father, and God the Holy Ghost, in

[1 Cor. 1. 23.]

[Mat. 26. 3; 27. 2; 12. 21, &c.]

[h] [See note B.]

[i] [See note C.]

[k] [See note D.]

BOOK II.

that the dishonouring of one of them is the dishonouring of them all three. We do therefore for ourselves, and in the name of all the rest of the Church of England, acknowledge and profess, from the bottom of our hearts, the truth of all that is written in the sacred Scriptures; and consequently, and in more particular manner, whatsoever is written in the same that doth appertain to the most holy and blessed Trinity. Out of the doctrine of which sacred writings, because the Apostles and Churches of God, moved thereunto by sundry sorts of heretics, have, long since, most faithfully and learnedly deduced into certain summaries, rightly termed Creeds, all those points of true doctrine which do concern God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, and are necessarily to be believed, under pain of condemnation; we do resolutely embrace and steadfastly believe all and every one the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and all and every one the articles of the[l] other Creeds, made by sundry councils for the further declaration of the Christian faith and Apostolic Creed, as of the Nicene Creed, made by the council of Nice against Arius, who denied the divinity of the Son of God; and of the next Creed, made in the first council of Constantinople, ratifying and further declaring the Nicene Creed against Eudoxius the Arian, and Macedonius, who denied the Holy Ghost to be God; and of the Creed made in the first council of Ephesus[m] against Nestorius, who taught that the two natures in Christ were not united together personally, but that the Word, which did take our nature upon Him for our redemption, did only 97
assist Christ our Saviour, as one friend may assist another; and of the Creed made in the council of Chalcedon against Eutyches, who did confound the two natures of Christ. Against any of which articles whosoever doth oppose himself, and doth wilfully continue in such his opposition, we hold and judge them to be worthily subject to all those censures

[l] The passage beginning, 'other Creeds,' and ending 'as of the,' is in the margin of *A*.

[m] The passage has originally stood thus in *A*. 'And all and every one the articles of the Creed made in the first council of Constantinople, and Macedonius and Eudoxius, who denied the Holy Ghost to be God, and to be a person proceeding from the Father and the Son, and all and every one the articles of the Creed,' &c. The words 'certifying and further declaring the Nicene Creed against Eudoxius the Arian,' stand in the margin.

and anathematisms, which the several constitutions and canons of the said councils have justly laid upon them.

Also, with the same resolution and faith before mentioned, we receive and believe all and every one the several points and articles of Athanasius' Creed, made a little after the council of Nice, against such blasphemous opinions as in those times were either directly, or indirectly, published in corners and spread here and there to the seducing of many. According to some articles of the which Creed that do more nearly concern our course, we steadfastly believe and confess, 'that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and man; God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before all worlds; and man, of the substance of His Mother, born in the world; perfect God, and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting; equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father, [as] touching His manhood; Who although He be both God and man, yet He is not two, but one Christ; one, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking [of] the manhood into God; one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person.' In respect of which personal union of the two natures of our Saviour Christ, without confusion or mixture of either of them, thus described by Athanasius[n], whatsoever is affirmed in the Scriptures, as well of the one nature as of the other, the same is
98 also truly to be affirmed *de toto composito*, that is, of His most sacred person being both God and man; the essential proprieties[o] of them both remaining, notwithstanding, distinguished.

For, as the said personal or hypostatical union of the said two natures doth not make the one nature to be the other, the divine nature to be the human nature, or the human nature to be the divine nature; so doth it not make the essential proprieties of the one nature to be the essential proprieties of the other nature; but as well the proprieties and actions as the natures themselves do remain distinguished, though united in one person; both of them concurring together, the Deity in working that which appertaineth to the Deity, and the humanity executing those essential pro-

[n] 'Described in the said Creed.' *D.*

[o] 'Properties.' *D.*

BOOK II.

prieties and actions which do belong unto the humanity. For example, the divine nature appeared in Christ by miracles, when His human nature was subject to many opprobries and injuries. In that our Saviour Christ did
Mat.14.17. satisfy five thousand persons with five loaves, did give water
Joh. 4. 7. Mat.14.25. of life to the woman of Samaria, did walk upon the sea with
Mat. 8. 26. dry foot, did by His commandment calm the winds,—He shewed thereby some effects and works of His divine nature, because they were, as one well saith, *Verbi propria, non carnis*, the proprieties of the Word, and not of the flesh.
Mat.14.19. Again, in that Christ brake bread, this was an office of His human nature; but in that He multiplied it, the same did appertain to His divine nature. In that He cried out
Joh.11.43. 'Lazarus, come forth,' that was the office of His human nature; but in that He quickened him and raised him from death, that did belong unto His divine nature. In that He
Mat. 9. 2. said, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' that was an office of His human nature; but in that such sins were indeed remitted, the same did appertain to His divine nature. In that our
Joh. 19. 30. Heb. 2. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 4. Saviour Christ died, the same did proceed from the flesh; but in that by His death He did expiate our sins, that did proceed from the Spirit. In that He was buried, did proceed 99 from the flesh; but in that He did raise Himself from the
Joh. 2. 19. dead, that was the office of His divinity. In that He gave bread to His Apostles in His last supper, He did it as man; but in that He made them partakers of His blessed body,
Mat. 26. 26. 1 Cor. 10. 16. Lu.22.30. He did the same as He was God. In that now being in heaven, He doth possess that kingdom in the name and behalf of His elect, that doth appertain unto His human nature; but that He doth now remain with us and dwell in
Joh. 15.4. Eph. 3.17. our hearts, that is an office of His divine nature. In that
Heb. 7. 25. Rom. 5. 9. Tit. 3. 5. He maketh intercession for us, that doth belong to His human nature; but in that He doth justify us, regenerate
Phil. 2.13. us, work in us both to will and to perform, in that He ruleth
Mat. 2. 6. Ps.119.35. us and leadeth us in the way of His commandments, all these offices do appertain unto His divinity. Lastly, in that He shall come in the clouds, and say unto one sort of
Mat.25.34. persons, 'Come, ye blessed,' and unto the other sort, 'Depart, ye cursed,' He shall do the same according to His human nature; but in that He shall judge every man according to

His knowledge of all men's hearts, their cogitations, desires and works, that He shall do as God. BOOK II.

Nevertheless, any thing thus by us affirmed notwithstanding, Christ Himself is not divided, though the proprieties and actions of His two natures are in this sort to be distinguished: as God Himself is not divided, although the three persons in Trinity are rightly held to be indeed distinguished; and yet all the said actions and proprieties of the two natures of Christ, distinguished, as we have expressed, they are, notwithstanding, very truly to be affirmed of His sacred person. The reason whereof hath been before touched, and it is this; p. 98. because seeing that both the natures are joined together in the person of the Son by an hypostatical, and consequently by a true and essential union, so as Christ is thereby both true God, in regard of His divine nature, and true man, in respect of His human nature; whatsoever is the propriety of the divine nature and of the human nature, the same is wholly and altogether in Christ, and is necessarily therefore to be affirmed of Him, both essentially and properly. In respect whereof, we say that Christ was dead, and that He could not die; that He is both finite and infinite; eternal, and temporal; in every place, and yet circumscribed in one place. For, of necessity, whatsoever are the properties of the human nature, the same are truly and properly to be affirmed *de vero homine;* and whatsoever are the proprieties of the divine nature, the same are likewise to be affirmed *de vero Deo;* Christ being, out of all controversy amongst the children of God, *et verus homo, et verus Deus.* And thus we have, after a sort, both briefly and truly set down the force and efficacy of the hypostatical union of the two natures of Christ, being distinguished, but no ways confounded; as the same, together with the true doctrine of all other necessary articles concerning the blessed Trinity, doth, by the Scriptures, most truly expounded in the Creeds above mentioned, many ways very notably appear.

To this purpose much more might here have been added by us; if, our course considered, we had thought it necessary. Only we have thought it fit, furthermore to profess and make it thereby known to all men, that there are some other Creeds made by other councils and particular bishops, like

BOOK II. See Bingham, x. 4. 1—18.

to Athanasius', and other worthy persons; as Irenæus'. Creed, Tertullian's Creed, as we may so term it, Damasus his Creed, the Creed ascribed to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, '*Te Deum laudamus,*' &c. the Creed of the first council of Toledo, St. Jerome's Creed, the Creed ascribed to Leo, which was approved by the council of Chalcedon, and the Creed of the sixth council of Constantinople, against the Monothelites, holding that in Christ, both God and man, there was but one will; all of them tending to the setting forth the orthodoxal 101
and true doctrine of 'One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, not confounding the Persons, nor dividing the substance[p]; and of one Christ, true God, and true man, not confounding His natures, nor dividing His Person.' Which Creeds we do receive, embrace, and reverence in such sort as they have been received, embraced and reverenced hitherto by all the particular Churches of the Christian world; inasmuch as they agree, both with the Scriptures, with the Apostles' Creed, with the four Creeds mentioned of the first four general councils, and with Athanasius' Creed; which contain in them that faith which was then, and so still ought to be accounted the true, Catholic faith; nothing, in effect, being contained in all the Creeds before by us specified, which may not be deduced by necessary consequences out of the Creed which Athanasius made[q]; the conclusion of which Creed is in these words expressed;—'This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved.' To which conclusion that, in [illegible], is very consonant wherewith Damasus doth end his Creed[r], in these words; 'Read these things, believe them, retain them; to this faith submit thy soul, and thou shalt obtain life and reward from Christ.'

In which Creeds, containing the Catholic faith in those days, or in any of the rest, we have thought it good here to remember, that there is not any one article to warrant or prove those new articles which were coined long after the making of any the said Creeds[s] by the bishops of Rome, and

[p] From here to the end of the sentence stands in the margin of *A.*, added by the same hand.

[q] The *D.* reads, 'out of the said Athanasian Creed.'

[r] [See note E.]

[s] The passage beginning 'by the bishops of Rome,' and ending with the word 'supremacy,' is written in the margin of *A.* by the same hand.

are added to the Nicene Creed by Pius the Fourth, in the profession of the Roman faith, specially that new article of the pope's supremacy, which is still so stiffly maintained and urged upon many under pain of the loss of their souls, viz. that it is altogether necessary for them, if they will be saved, to be obedient to the bishop of Rome[t]. Which new article, 102 being but an extravagant conclusion made by a very strange man and built upon as strange collections out of the Scriptures, we leave it for a novelty unto all the articles of the ancient Catholic faith; and will now address ourselves to prosecute the same course and points in the New Testament which we held in the Old.

[PLACET EIS.]

CHAPTER II.

It is a certain rule in divinity, that grace doth not destroy nature[u]. The doctrine of the Seed of the woman, that was foretold should break the serpent's head, did not abolish the moral law. The ceremonies in the Old Testament, which shadowed and signified the mercies of God in Christ, had no power to extinguish the laws first imprinted in men's hearts, and afterwards engraven in tables of stone by the finger of God. The prophets foretelling the coming of Christ, and the merits of His passion, did likewise reprove all sins and offences committed against the Ten Commandments. Christ testifieth of Himself, that He 'came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them.' By His death He hath Mat. 5. 17. delivered us from the curse of the law, but not from the obedience of it. And St. Paul saith that the Apostles did not 'make the law of none effect through faith, but that Rom. 3. 13. they did thereby establish the law.' For that faith doth only apprehend Christ truly to salvation, which worketh by charity; that is, which purgeth the conscience from dead works to serve the living God, and[x] bringeth forth by the Spirit, obedience to the precepts and laws of God.

[t] [See Note F.]
[u] [See Note G.]
[x] The words from 'purgeth,' to 'God and,' inclusive, are in the margin of *A.*

BOOK II. [Chapters 1, 2, 3, &c.]

It[y] hath been shewed by us at large in the former book, that although the Son of God, having made the world, did by His mighty power and divine providence, retain, as it were, in His own hands, the general rule and government of it; yet for a more visible benefit and comfort to mankind, He 103 did divide and distribute the same into divers countries, principalities and kingdoms; and ordaining civil magistracy, did not only appoint sovereign princes and kings as His deputies and lieutenants upon earth to rule and govern under Him such countries and kingdoms as He had allotted unto them; but did likewise tie mankind by one of the moral laws engraven in their hearts, that they should honour them, serve them, and be obedient unto them. Which particular commandment was no more abolished by the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ, than were all the rest. Nay it was in truth of such force and public note, as that our Saviour, having most willingly subjected Himself to the obedience of the whole law, did very carefully, upon every occasion, shew Himself most observant of this one law amongst the rest. For in the whole course of His life here upon earth, we find not any alteration that He made in the civil state where He was conversant; which He must of necessity have done, if His coming into the world had any way impeached the authority of the civil magistrates. It is expressly recorded
Lu. 2. 51. of Him that He lived in subjection to His parents; therein fulfilling the said fifth commandment, which containeth as well the subjection due to authority civil as paternal. He
Rom. 1. 3. was 'made of the seed of David according to the flesh,' as the Apostle speaketh; and so had, no doubt, according to His manhood, great natural compassion of those miseries and afflictions which the Jews at that very time endured under the Romans. Howbeit, as knowing the duties of their allegiance, He neither moved nor any way encouraged them to take arms against the emperor; nor filled their heads with shifts and distinctions how subjects in this case and that case were superior to their sovereigns; nor did any way approve of those rebellious courses in them whereunto they were, of their own dispositions, very greatly addicted. 104

[y] Here in the margin of *A.* is written in red chalk, 'Begin here;' not a new Capitular.' (?)

He was so far from those exorbitant and bad humours, as still He shewed, when there was cause, His great detestation of them. He did Himself very willingly pay tribute when it was demanded; and upon fit occasion, gave all the Jews this general[z] rule, that they, living under Cæsar, were bound to pay unto him those things that were his; meaning such obedience, custom, tributes, tolls, taxations and payments, as by the laws, both divine and imperial, were due unto Cæsar. And certainly if ever it had, and might have been lawful for private men, in respect of their own zeal, to have used force against authority, it seemeth unto us that it might have been borne with in the Apostles, upon some such accidents as then fell out. Judas had betrayed their master, and thereupon a multitude was sent, with a public officer, to apprehend Him. Which the Apostles perceiving, conferred together, as it seemeth, how to make resistance, and said in their zeal, 'Master, shall we smite them with the sword?' But Peter seeing, of likelihood, the haste, violence, and fury that was used by the said multitude, did upon the sudden, pluck out his sword, and without any expectation[1] what Christ would answer to the said question, smiting one of the company, did cut off his ear. Now if we shall consult with flesh and blood, who would not approve this fact of St. Peter? But our Saviour Christ, being void of any heat or passion, and only respecting the will of God and the due observation of the said particular law, did utterly condemn in St. Peter that violent and unlawful attempt; because he being but a private man, had nothing to do with the temporal sword, which belonged to the civil magistrate; and much less should have used it against authority. And therefore, as well to let St. Peter see his offence, as also to leave a caution for the bridling thenceforward[a] of all future rash zeal in such a case, He justified the law of God, and did leave the same for a rule to all posterity, saying, 'All that take the sword, shall perish with the sword;' meaning all private persons that shall at any time abuse, after that sort, the civil sword, which doth in no wise appertain unto them.

[Mat. 17. 24.]

[Mat. 22. 21.]

Lu. 22. 49.

[1] waiting

[Mat. 26. 52.]

Besides, it is manifest that our Saviour Christ, if, as He

[z] 'Following.' *D.*

[a] 'Bridling from thenceforwards.' *D.*

BOOK II.

was God, He had been disposed, was able to have defended Himself against all the world. Nay, as He was man, He might, by prayer to His Father, have procured sufficient assistance against the force of all His enemies, had He not well known that course to have been repugnant to the obedience which He had undertaken, of the said commandment, and no way agreeable to the vocation and work which He had in hand; and therefore persisting in His reproof of St. Peter, 'Thinkest thou,' saith He unto him, 'that I cannot now pray to My Father, and He will give Me more than twelve legions of Angels?' but it is ever[b] apparent in all the proceedings of our Saviour Christ whilst He lived in this world, that He never liked, in any, the resistance of civil authority by force; or approved of any inconsiderate and rash zeal, bent against magistrates or any other persons; but was always ready to blame and check the same, as He did when He found it in two other of His Apostles who to revenge an injury offered to their master, sought to have had it punished from heaven. For when the Samaritans refused,—upon conference and direction, we doubt not, of those that were in authority over them,—to give Christ entertainment and lodging in one of their cities, James and John were so moved therewith as they would needs have licence of Him to command that fire should come down from heaven, as Elias did; shewing thereby, that in their heat, if they had been able, they would have had them all destroyed. But our Saviour Christ, disliking such fiery and rash zeal, rebuked them and said, 'You know not of what spirit you are;' that is, in effect, as if He should have said, You may pretend Elias his fact, but you are far from Elias his spirit. He only executed the judgment of God, as, by the Spirit, He was extraordinarily directed: whereas you have received no such direction, but are only in your passion and heat stirred up to revenge.

[Mat. 26. 53.]

Lu. 9. 54, 55.

[2 Kings i. 10-14.]

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The conclusion hereof is, that Christ our Lord all the time He remained here upon the earth, did not only in His own person shew Himself obedient to civil authority, according to the said fifth commandment, but did likewise utterly

[b] In *A.* the word 'very' is written in red chalk above 'ever.'

condemn, in others, upon every occasion offered unto Him, throughout the four Evangelists, all inconsiderate zeal and opposition against temporal magistracy. Insomuch as concerning His own said obedience, when He was apprehended, notwithstanding Peter's sword, He submitted Himself to the public officer that was then sent for Him; and likewise being afterwards carried to Pilate, the civil magistrate at that time, under the emperor, and before him falsely charged by His malicious adversaries with treason, He behaved Himself in such dutiful manner as was fit and convenient for Him that truly had professed subjection [c], and did in no sort seek to decline his power and authority, either by alleging that He was not the emperor's subject, or that Pilate was not His competent judge, or by using any other tergiversation or evasion; but acknowledged very freely, his said authority to be lawful, and yielding Himself thereunto, did confess that it 'was given him from above.' Joh. 19. 11.

107 CANON I.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the doctrine of grace in the New Testament doth more abolish the rules of nature or moral law of God than it did in the Old; or, that through faith the said law was not rather established than in any sort impeached; or, that because as many as believe are redeemed and made free from the curse of the law, they are therefore exempted and free from the obedience of the law; or, that by the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, obedience to the fifth commandment, touching honour due to parents and princes, was in any sort impeached, the rest of the law being established; or, that our Saviour Christ, having undertaken the fulfilling of the whole law, as far forth, at the least, as ever mankind was bound to have fulfilled it, came short in this one law, by exempting Himself from any obedience due to the civil magistrate; or, that He,

[c] The passage from 'that' to 'subjection' inclusive, is in the margin of *A*.

BOOK II.

having tied Himself according to the said commandment, as well to the obedience of the civil magistrate as the obedience which was due to His parents, did not, whilst He lived in 108
the world, fulfil the law wholly concerning them both; or, that He did any way or at any time encourage the Jews, or any other, directly or indirectly, to rebel for any cause whatsoever against the Roman emperor or any of his subordinate magistrates; or, that He did not very willingly, both Himself pay tribute to Cæsar, and also advise the Jews so to do; or, that when He willed the Jews to pay tribute to Cæsar, including therein their duty of obedience unto him, He did not therein deal plainly and sincerely, but meant secretly that they should be bound no longer to be obedient unto him, but until by force they should be able to resist him; or, that He did not utterly and truly condemn all devices, conferences and resolutions whatsoever, either in His own Apostles, or in any other persons, for the using of force against civil authority; or, that it is or can be more lawful for any private persons, either of St. Peter's calling, or of any other profession, to draw their swords against authority, though in their rash zeal they should hold it lawful so to do for the preservation of religion, than it was for St. Peter for the preservation of his master's life; or, that by Christ's 109
words above mentioned, all subjects of what sort soever without exception, ought not by the law of God to perish with the sword, that take and use the sword for any cause against kings and sovereign princes under whom they were born, or under whose jurisdiction they do inhabit; or, that seeing our Saviour Christ would not have the Samaritans to be destroyed with fire from heaven, although they were at that time divided in religion from the Jews and refused to receive Him in person, it is not to be ascribed to the spirit of Satan for any private men to attempt by gunpowder and fire from hell to blow up and destroy their sovereigns, and the whole state of the country where they were born and bred, because in their conceits they refused some parts of Christ's doctrine and government; or, that Christ did not well and as the said fifth

commandment did require, in submitting Himself as He did to authority, although He was first sent for with swords and staves, as if He had been a thief, and then afterwards carried to Pilate and by him, albeit he found no evil in Him, condemned to death; or, that by any doctrine or example, which
110 Christ ever taught or hath left upon good record, it can be proved lawful to any subjects for any cause of what nature soever to decline either the authority and jurisdiction of their sovereign princes, or of any their lawful deputies and inferior magistrates ruling under them, he doth greatly err.

CHAPTER III.

It is many ways very plain and evident that the Jews did expound all those places of the prophets which do notably set forth the spiritual kingdom of our Saviour Christ, to be meant of a temporal kingdom which He should erect upon the earth. And upon that false ground they did imagine that when their expected Messiah should come into the world, He was to advance them unto a glorious estate here upon earth, and to reign in the midst of them as a most mighty and temporal monarch. Which erroneous conceit, when Herod heard of the birth of Christ, made him to fear lest the new-born babe should deprive him of his kingdom, and induced him thereupon to seek His destruction. Thence also it did proceed, that when the people were so much moved with admiration of one of Christ's miracles, as that they used these words, 'This is of a truth the Prophet that should come into the world,' they presently devised how they might make Him their king. But Christ perceiving their drift, prevented their purpose by departing from them; as well observing and knowing that their erroneous imagination of Him. Nay, the better sort of those that followed
111 Christ were not free from this erroneous cogitation; as it appeareth by the petition that the mother of Zebedee's children made unto Christ, saying, 'Grant that these my

John c. 11, 15.

Mat. 20. 21. Mark 10. 35, 41, &c.

BOOK II.

two sons may sit, the one at Thy right hand, and the other at Thy left hand, in Thy kingdom.' It seemeth, by St. Mark, that her said two sons, James and John, did join with their mother and made likewise the same petition themselves, unto Christ, in their own names. And it is plain that the rest of the Apostles, having aspiring minds to have been great men in the world, as dreaming of a temporal kingdom, that Christ was in time to establish amongst them, when they heard this suit, did begin, as the Evangelists testify, to disdain at James and John for seeking, in that sort, to prefer themselves before them; some of them perhaps thinking themselves more worthy of those two great dignities than either of them were. But our Saviour Christ, finding these carnal imaginations amongst them, did throughly reprove them for those their vain conceits; and did make it well known unto them how far they overshot themselves when they supposed that He should become a temporal king; or that they themselves should be honoured by Him with temporal principalities. Which course also our Saviour Christ held, when as St. Luke saith, 'there arose a strife amongst the Apostles, which of them should be the greatest.' For then, they persisting in their former error, He did again renew His reproof, if this were a several contention from the former, saying unto them, 'The kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called benefactors,' as using to reward their servants with great and extraordinary worldly preferments;—or, as St. Matthew recordeth Christ's words, whether upon this or the former occasion mentioned it is not greatly material, because they are all one in sense, 'Ye know that the lords of the Gentiles have dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority over them; but,' saith Christ, 'it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of man came, not to be served, but to serve;' or, as St. Luke hath Christ's words, 'Ye shall not be so;' that is, You shall not live as kings upon the earth, nor have such worldly estates as that thereby ye might have occasion to vaunt in the world what great benefactors you have been in advancing your followers to this or that dukedom, according as great kings and monarchs

Lu. 22. 24.

Mat. 20. 25, 26.

112

[Lu. 22. 26.]

are accustomed to deal with their servants and principal subjects; but let the greatest among you be as the least, and the chiefest as he that serveth. 'For who is greater? he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at the table? and I am among you as he that serveth.' By which words of our Saviour, it is very manifest how far He was from challenging to Himself any worldly kingdom; and how much His Apostles were deceived in apprehending what great men they should become[d] in the world by being His followers and disciples.

To this purpose much more might be here alleged by us; as also it would not be forgotten what we have before observed in the former chapter, tending to the same effect; [p. 88.] inasmuch as Christ, having made Himself subject to the obedience of the fifth commandment, which tied Him as well to be a subject unto the emperor under whom He was born, as to the obedience of His parents, did thereby shew Himself to be no temporal monarch. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, there are some so much addicted in these days unto the said erroneous opinion of the Jews, as for the advancement of the glory of the bishop of Rome, they will needs have Christ to have been here upon the earth a temporal king; affirming that upon His nativity all the kings in the world lost their regal power and authority, all their kingdoms being devolved unto Him; and that they
113 could no longer possess them by any right, interest, or title, until they had again resumed them from Him as He was man, and forsaken their ancient tenures, whereby they had held them of Him as He was God. Insomuch, as some of them say in effect, that neither Augustus Cæsar, nor Tiberius his successor, were lawful emperors, from the time of Christ's birth for above the space of thirty years, until He our Saviour had required the Jews to pay tribute to Cæsar; as if in so doing Tiberius had again received thereby his former right to the empire, and that thereupon he was from that time forward to hold it of Christ, as He was man. In which erroneous conceits these men proceed further than ever the Jews, or the Apostles in their weakness, did; for the Jews never imagined of their Messiah, that when He came into

[d] 'Become by being.' *D.*

BOOK II.

the world He should abolish all civil government amongst the Gentiles and be a temporal king to rule all nations, or that as many sovereign kings and princes as should from that time forward desire to rule their subjects by any lawful power and authority, must receive and hold the same from their, the said Jews', temporal king[e]; but did restrain their conceits within more narrow bounds, thinking that their Messiah should not have such intermeddling with the Gentiles, but only restore the kingdom of Israel which had for a long time been miserably shaken and rent in pieces, and live in that country amongst them in a much more glorious form and state than ever any[f] of their kings before Him had done. And yet notwithstanding, these the said persons, having inconsiderately so far overrun the Jews in their follies, are possessed nevertheless with some imaginations, no doubt, that because the pope doth either applaud or wink at their proceedings, they may in time make it probable to the simpler sort,—who, when force is to be used, do bear the greatest sway,—that as all emperors and kings, forsooth, held their kingdoms from Christ, as He then was, and still is man, so ought they now in these days to hold them of the pope, in that, if men might safely believe them, our Saviour Christ did, as they say, after His ascension bestow all such His worldly dominions upon St. Peter, and consequently upon his successors, the bishops of Rome; and that now all worldly principalities are theirs, and must be held of them as they were before of Christ after His incarnation, by as many kings and princes as desire to hold their kingdoms by any right title.

But these are men not to be feared; for, to say the truth of them, they are all of them in effect either but gross and unlearned canonists, or else but new upstart and sottish Nerians[g], and of great affinity with the canonists: who meaning, as it seemeth, to outstrip the Jesuits, do labour as much to make the pope a temporal monarch as the Jesuits have done for his pretended spiritual sovereignty; whose endeavours are altogether, we suppose[h], to be contemned, in

[e] 'From (the said Jews) their temporal kings.' *D.*

[f] 'Than any.' *D.*

[g] [See note H.]

[h] 'As we suppose.' *D.*

that both the sorts of them, as well canonists as Nerians, are more voluminous in their writings, than substantial: filling them principally with very idle and ridiculous canons and decrees of the pope's own making; and having no true feeling or sense of divinity, do handle the Scriptures, when they have leisure to come unto them, with so foul and unwashed hands, as that their master either is, or ought to be, ashamed of them, in that he permitteth their so absurd books to come abroad into the world.

Besides, it will not a little hinder their credit, if it make them not a scorn to all posterity, even amongst such men as have otherwise made themselves vassals to the see of Rome; because the said Jesuits, and some others not to have been despised for their learning, whilst they have strived to advance the pope's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, have themselves, in a manner, broken the neck of his fondly-conceited temporal monarchy. Some of the chiefest amongst them affirming very peremptorily, that our Saviour Christ, as man, was never a temporal king upon earth; nor ever had any such temporal authority, or government, as doth appertain unto kings and sovereign princes. We will set down some words of one that is of especial authority amongst them; not because we intend to ground any thing upon them, but for that they are true, and may perhaps be of more force than ours are like to be with some kind of people, the rectifying of whose hearts in the truth we tender as much as we do our own. 'Christ,' saith he, 'did not take kingdoms from them whose they were; for Christ came not to destroy those things which were well settled, but to make them better. Therefore when a king is become a Christian, he doth not lose his earthly kingdom, but procureth a new interest to a kingdom that is eternal. Otherwise the benefit of Christ should be hurtful to kings, and grace should destroy nature.' And again; 'Christ, as He was man, whilst He lived upon the earth, neither did nor would receive any temporal dominion.' And again; 'I say, that Christ was always, as the Son of God, a king and lord of all creatures, in such sort as His Father is; but this eternal and divine kingdom doth not abolish the dominions of men.' Again; 'I affirm[1],' saith he, 'that Christ, as He was man, could

Bellarm. de Sum. Pontif. l. 5. [See note I.]

[1] 'I affirm not.' *D.*

BOOK II.

not, though He would, and had thought it expedient for Him, have received regal authority; but yet I say that He would not, and therefore that He did not, receive, nor had, not only the execution of any lordship and regality, but neither the authority or power of any temporal kingdom.' Again, 'Christ, as He was man, had no temporal kingdom, neither by inheritance, nor by election, nor by conquest, nor by any especial gift of God[k]. And therefore he concludeth that Christ had no temporal kingdom at all, because every such kingdom is 116
gotten by one of the four said means.' Again, saith he, 'Christ
[Mat. 20. 28.] [Joh. 12. 47.] never used, in this world, any regal power; He came to minister, and not to be ministered unto; to be judged, and not to judge.' And again; 'regal authority was neither necessary nor profitable to Christ, but plainly idle and unprofitable. For the end of His coming into the world was the redemption of mankind; but to this end temporal power was not necessary, but only spiritual. Lastly; all the places of Scripture almost,' saith he, 'where is any[l] treaty of the kingdom of Christ, ought necessarily to be understood of His spiritual and eternal kingdom; and therefore it cannot be deduced out of the Scriptures that Christ had any temporal kingdom.' So as, in this man's judgment, neither St. Peter, for his time, nor since, any of his successors, did ever receive any temporal kingdoms from Christ, He Himself being never possessed of any, as He was man, either to retain in their own hands, or to commit the execution of them, as in their right, unto other kings and temporal monarchs.

But to omit the further prosecution of this Loyolist his said positions, delivered truly in this point more at large, and proved by sundry arguments in his book quoted by us; because he is a man, though he be a cardinal, and of great estimation with his own society, whose credit seemeth to decay, especially with the said canonists and others of that like crew. For if the rest shall hereafter proceed with him, as one of them hath already done, by perverting the whole drift of his disputation in that behalf, very childishly and grossly, he will be driven, ere it be long, to range himself in the troops of some who are falsely supposed heretics; in that the

[k] The passage beginning 'And therefore,' and ending with 'means,' is in the margin of *A*.

[l] 'A treaty.' *D*.

said grave canonist is so courageous he dareth to adventure the pronouncing of a curse of the greatest nature against
117 him, by name, even *Anathema sit*; and therefore we will clear our hands of him, and drawing to an end in this matter, leave the conclusion of it unto Christ Himself, Who knew His own estate, when He lived here in the world, as well as any canonists, either by birth of Padua, Naples, or Rome, or of any other city or country whatsoever.

It is true that our Saviour Christ, as soon as He was born, was a spiritual king, not only over the Jews, but also over all nations. And therefore, when at the time of His arraignment before Pilate, though in scorn the Jews termed Him king, and that He could not indeed truly have denied it; yet He did not equivocate therein, but confessed unto them, what manner of king He was. For Pilate saying unto Him, 'Art Thou the king of the Jews?' and telling Him that Joh. 18. 36.
'the Jews and the High-Priests had delivered Him into his hands,' Jesus answered thus, 'My kingdom is not of this world: if My kingdom were of this world, My servants would surely fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is My kingdom not from hence.' As if He should have said, 'I am no temporal king, nor have any temporal kingdom in this world; for if I had, my subjects, no doubt, would never have suffered Me to come to this distress; or if it had been My hap so to have been dishonoured, as now I am, they would, out of all doubt, have fought on My behalf, as all dutiful subjects are bound to do when the persons of their sovereigns shall be in any danger. But My kingdom is of another nature; it is no temporal kingdom, either of this world, that is, such a kingdom as those who are temporal kings do possess; or from hence, that is, My kingdom requireth no worldly assistance, the world hath given Me no subjects, neither have I any worldly estate or possessions; so as it might be affirmed truly either of Me or of My kingdom,
118 that either for the dignity of My person, or the strengthening of My government, I have any thing hence, that is, from the world.'

BOOK II.

CANON II.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the Jews did not err in conceiving that their Messiah, when He came into the world, should as a temporal monarch reign amongst them; or, that the Apostles themselves were not somewhat tainted with such like imaginations; or, that Christ's answers unto His said Apostles did not sufficiently shew unto them that He came not into the world to erect for Himself a temporal kingdom, and that therefore they were not to expect from Him such worldly preferments as they had dreamed of; or, that the Son of God, in that He was made man, did by His blessed nativity deprive all the civil magistrates in the world of that power and authority which He had formerly given unto them as He was God; or, that Christ, as He was man, was by His birth made a temporal king over all the world; or, that all temporal princes and sovereign kings were thenceforth bound to hold their several countries and kingdoms no more under Christ, as He was God, but as being man, He was heir to a temporal monarch over all nations; or, that the emperor Tiberius, who then reigned, did govern the empire for the space of above fifteen years without any lawful authority, until our Saviour Christ willed the Jews to give unto Cæsar those things that are Cæsar's; or, that Christ, having willingly undertaken for our sakes the fulfilling of all the law, and consequently of the fifth commandment, did not hold it to be a part of His office to obey the emperor, upon whom [m], as He was God, He had bestowed such lawful authority as did appertain unto His government; or, that either Christ His fact in paying of tribute, or His words in willing the Jews to give unto Cæsar those things that were Cæsar's, did then import that neither obedience, tribute, custom, nor any other duty of subjection, did, until that time, belong to the emperor, as being thitherto by Christ's birth deprived of all his regal authority;

[m] 'He had, as He was God, bestowed.' *D.*

120 or, that it is not a great impiety in any political respect whatsoever, for any man to maintain, when Christ saith His kingdom is not of this world, that it was a worldly and temporal kingdom; or, when Christ saith His kingdom was not from hence, that it was notwithstanding, as a worldly kingdom, from hence, as having all other kings and princes here in the world, as vassals in that respect, and subject unto it, he doth greatly err. BOOK II.

121 CHAPTER IV.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That our Saviour Christ in working our salvation, whilst He lived upon the earth, conformed Himself wholly and His obedience unto the ecclesiastical government and laws of the Church then in force; inveighed not with any bitterness against the High-Priests, though they were His enemies and in many points faulty, but had ever a great respect of them, in regard of their authority; made no new laws when He expounded the old; erected no particular congregations or Churches apart from the congregations and particular Churches of the Jews; but did, together with His Apostles and disciples, join with the Church of the Jews in their public worship and service of God; omitting no one circumstance, ceremony, or duty, undertaken voluntarily by Him, which He did not very throughly perform, even with the loss of His life.

As our Saviour Christ, whilst He lived in the world, did no way disturb the civil state, but upon every fit occasion did submit Himself unto it; so may it be truly said of Him concerning the state ecclesiastical, formerly by God Himself established, and remaining still amongst the Jews, though in a very corrupt manner, that He did in every thing thereunto by the law of God appertaining, conform Himself unto it, whilst it lasted; we say[n], whilst it lasted; because upon His

[n] 'I say, while.' *D.*

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BOOK II.

death there was a great alteration. According to the ecclesiastical laws, then, whilst He lived, in force, He was first circumcised, and so made Himself subject to the fulfilling of the whole law. Then, as the law did likewise require, He was brought by His Mother to Jerusalem, to be presented to the Lord and to have an oblation, suitable to their poor estate, of a pair of turtle doves, or two pigeons, offered to God with the price of redemption for Him, in that He was a man-child and the first-born. There were no kind of solemn feasts appointed by the law, which He honoured not with His presence according to the law. Nay, He was pleased to be present at the feast of the Dedication of the Temple, which was instituted by Judas Maccabæus and his brethren; as well to teach all posterity, by His example, what godly magistrates may ordain in such kind of causes, as also how things so ordained ought to be observed. And as He was circumcised, so did He celebrate and observe the chief feasts of the Passover; omitting nothing which either on the behalf of the Jews, or for our sakes, He had undertaken to perform. And although the priests in those days were very far out of square, and that our Saviour Christ had very just cause in that respect to have reproved them sharply, as other prophets had oftentimes dealt with their predecessors; yet He did so much regard them by reason of their authority, and lest He should otherwise have seemed to have contemned both them and it, as He did rather choose to let them understand their offences by parables than by any rough reprehension; still upholding them in their credits and authority, as by the law of God in that behalf it was provided. When amongst many other His wonderful great miracles, He had healed certain lepers, He bade them go shew themselves to the priests, because they were appointed judges by the law to discern the curing of that disease, before the parties, though indeed healed of it, might intermingle themselves with the rest of the people; and did further require them to offer for their cleansing those things which Moses had commanded *in testimonium illis;* that is, that so the said priests might plainly see both that He was a keeper of the law, and also that He had healed them, and so be driven to repent them of their incredulity, or at the

Lev. 12. 3.

Ex. 13. 13. Num. 18. 16.

Deut. 16. [1, 16, &c.]

Joh. 10. 23.

Mat. 21. 16; 25. 28. [? Lu. 20. 19.]

Mat. 8. 4. Mark 1. 44.

Lu. 5. 14; 17. 14.

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123

least be prevented thereby from slandering either Him as a breaker of the law, or that which He had done for them as if He had not throughly healed them. Neither is it any way repugnant hereunto, that when our Saviour Christ found chopping and changing by buying and selling in the temple, Joh. 2. 15. He made a scourge of small cords and drave them thence with their sheep, oxen, doves and money bags; forbidding them to make His Father's house an house of merchandise. For He did not thereby, in any sort, prejudice the authority of the priests, who should chiefly have prevented such gross abuses and traffic in the temple, as if He had done the same either as a chief priest, or a temporal king, according to some men's fond imaginations, by any pontifical or regal authority; but His fact therein, howsoever it might shew the negligence of the said priests, did only proceed from His divine zeal, as He was a prophet and could not endure such an abominable profanation of God's house; many prophets before Him having done matters very lawfully of greater moment through the like divine and extraordinary zeal in them, without any impeachment of any power, either regal or pontifical. Howbeit, that our Saviour Christ was oftentimes very vehement against the Scribes and Pharisees, it is plain and manifest, when joining them both together, He termed them 'serpents,' the Mat. 23. [33, &c.] 'generation of vipers,' and denounceth against them in one chapter eight woes, concluding thus, 'How should you escape the damnation of hell?' The reason that these curses and hard censures were jointly laid upon them, was because they themselves were joined together in all kinds of impiety and malice against Christ; and were neither of them, especially the Pharisees, any plants of God's plantation. For whilst not only the High-Priests were still in faction and fury one against another, as well for the getting as the keeping that
124 high preferment, and that many of the inferior priests were either siding amongst themselves for one party or other, or else more idle and negligent in discharging of their duties than they ought to have been; these two sects thrust themselves into the Church, and through their hypocrisy so prevailed with the people in short time, as the priests afterwards either could not, or would not be rid of them; because on the one side they thought it in vain to strive with them they

BOOK II.

were so backed, and on the other side they found them so diligent in discharging of those duties which did appertain to themselves, and withal so careful to uphold the state and authority of the priesthood. By means whereof they grew very shortly into so great estimation, that, as one writeth of the Pharisees, whatsoever did appertain to public and solemn prayers and to the worship of God, it was done according to their interpretations and as they prescribed. And the Scribes, being likewise doctors and expounders of the law, and concurring still with the interpretations and prescriptions of the Pharisees, came not, by that policy, in their credits and reputation had of them, far short behind them. The distinction between them may well be expressed by comparing the Pharisees unto the divines amongst our adversaries, who take upon them to search out more throughly the mysteries of the Scriptures; and the Scribes to their canonists, who in respect of their said divines are but novices in God's Word and applauders to the pope's decrees, as the Scribes were being compared to the Pharisees, in that they held it for a principal part of their office to uphold and maintain, as much as they could, the traditions of the Pharisees, and did only take upon them to deal with the bark and literal sense of Moses' laws, leaving the more profound knowledge and mystical interpretation of them unto the said Pharisees. But the issue of the labours of both these hypocritical sects was such, as being blinded with their own devices, they became to be the specialest enemies that Christ found upon the earth, and opposed themselves most against Him. And yet notwithstanding, because He found them in so great authority, and perceived how the knowledge of the law, which ought to have been received from the lips of the priests, did then depend upon the lips of the Scribes and Pharisees, He did neither blame them for it nor impugn the said authority. Insomuch as the multitude being many ways factious, and, though very ignorant, were become great questionists touching the points of the law, He referred them, with a very good caution, to the Scribes and Pharisees, to be instructed by them, saying, 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe and do, that observe and do; but after their works do not,

Jos. Antiq. Jud. xviii. 2.

[Mal. 2. 7.]

[Mat. 23. 2, 3.]

for they say, and do not.' Whereby it appeareth how respectful our Saviour Christ was for the free passage and observation of Moses' law, in that He was content that the Scribes and Pharisees, notwithstanding He knew their hypocrisy and corruption, and how they had come by that authority which they then enjoyed, should yet instruct the people under them; so as the people did beware of their wicked conversation, and approved no resolutions that they might receive from them, which were not first proved unto them out of the laws of Moses and were fit to proceed from his seat.

Touching which last point of Moses' law, and how nothing ought to have been taught out of Moses' seat but that which Moses, by the direction of the Holy Ghost, had prescribed; forasmuch as our Saviour Christ did well see and understand how the Scribes and Pharisees had by their false interpretations and glosses perverted and corrupted the true sense and meaning of divers of Moses' laws, He was greatly moved therewith, and did take great pains to refute the said false
126 glosses and interpretations, and to restore to the laws mentioned their true sense and original meaning. Wherein, although by His strict exposition of those laws He might seem, to some not well advised, to have so extended and enlarged the meaning of them, as if He had thereby prescribed some new points or laws of greater perfection than were originally contained in the true meaning of the old; yet we cannot find how either the said points may otherwise be termed new than as gold first purified and fined, after it hath either in time grown rusty, or been by false mixtures cunningly corrupted, may be called new gold, when it is again purged from the said false mixtures, and refined; or how the observation of them can bring with it to men any greater perfection in the New Testament, than God Himself did expect of His servants in the Old Testament, by their observing of the said laws so expounded by Christ, in their ancient sense and meaning, which they first had, when by His appointment Moses did give them unto them. For if in proper speech He had made any new laws, coming only to fulfil the old, as Himself in a true sense affirmed, the Jews might have had some good colour to have blamed Him, in that,

BOOK II. during the continuance of their ecclesiastical government, if any new laws had been then to have been made touching the worship of God, the authority in that behalf was limited by God Himself unto their own Church-governors. Again, considering that the Son of God, in taking our nature upon Him, did so make Himself of no reputation, as being, of His own goodness towards mankind, a servant to His Father, He became, to do His will, obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross; it cannot well be imagined by any that have any true understanding of the Scriptures, that the Son of God, having so debased Himself, as is aforesaid, did ever think in that His so admirable humiliation, of any rules or new laws of greater perfection than He had before required 127 and prescribed unto His true servants and children, as He was God in majesty and glory, without any such exinanition as the Apostle speaketh of. The obedience and duty which Almighty God ever did, or ever will require of His servants, was and is always to proceed as well from their hearts as from any other external actions. Insomuch, as if it fell out, as it may at some times, that they cannot perform their said duties in respect of some impediments that will hold them from Christ; in that case, be it riches, they are to leave them; their eyes, their hands, or their feet, they are to cut them off; nay, be it their blood, their hearts, and lives, they are rather, than to forsake their God and His Christ, to yield them all in this world with what ignominy soever, to the end they may receive them again with glory in the kingdom of heaven; than which great obedience and perfection, what can be imagined greater? or who is there in the world that truly professeth religion who in that case is exempted from it? Certainly, we think, none, of what estate and condition soever they be; but do rather hold, that as they who shall yield up their lives under pretence of any extraordinary perfection, saving in the case above expressed, are far from that which they make show of, but are rather to be accounted desperate; so are they, in our judgments, to be reckoned men of very extraordinary humours and most ignorant persons, if not such counterfeit hypocrites,—as were the Scribes and Pharisees in professing extraordinary austerity of life that they might be the better esteemed amongst men—who shall with-

[Phil. 2. 8.]

[Mat. 5. 29.]

out any necessity, either pull out their eyes, or cut off their feet and hands, or forsake their riches and worldly estates, as blessings of God not compatible but repugnant to that perfection which God doth require at any man's hands.

128 It is not our purpose to prosecute all those particulars mentioned in the Evangelists wherein our Saviour Christ shewed His obedience; there being in effect nothing that He did which was not either figured in the law, or foretold by the prophets, that He should perform. The time of His incarnation, with the manner of it, His entertainment in the world, His diligence in preaching, His whipping, blows, and scorns offered unto Him, the wounds of His hands, feet and side, the beginning and progress of His spiritual kingdom, the several duties appertaining to Him, as He was a prophet, and likewise as He was our High-Priest, the institution of Baptism and of Christ's last Supper, His righteousness and mercy, His death, with the manner of it, His resurrection and ascension, with a number of other points, they were all foreseen, figured, and described by the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures; and were accordingly, with admirable patience, humility, obedience, courage, zeal and alacrity executed, undergone, and accomplished by Him, in such manner and sort, with the observation of all necessary circumstances, and by such degrees, as from the beginning were limited and thought fit for so great a work. For all things could not be done by Him together, and at once. Although after His baptism He preached most diligently, wrought strange wonders, and did choose to assist Him, His twelve Apostles and seventy disciples, who did likewise preach, baptize, and wrought miracles in His name; yet neither He nor they did collect any particular Church or Churches apart from the synagogues of the Jews; but held society and communion with them in all things that did belong to the outward service and worship of God; because, until His passion, as well the ceremonies of the law, as the Aaronical priesthood, together with the authority thereunto appertaining, were all of them in force; and therefore it was not lawful, whilst the old Church
129 did stand, to have erected a new. Moreover it is not to be doubted, but that as before Christ's incarnation there were many faithful and godly persons that believed in Christ, to

BOOK II.

come, and by that their faith were saved; so there were many such believers, after His incarnation, who were likewise the children of God, though they were ignorant, for a time, that Christ, when He was come, was the Messiah, Whom they expected; none of the Jews so believing, being in state of damnation, until after they had seen Christ, heard Him preach, been present at His miracles, or at the least had received full instruction of them all from His Apostles and disciples, they did notwithstanding reject Him. In which respect the true believers amongst the Jews, in those days, might not well have been distinguished into several and different congregations, or particular Churches, without many great and apparent inconveniences; but this point is yet plainer, in that the Jews, who believed, at that time, that Christ, Whom they saw, and heard, was their true[o] Messiah, were, notwithstanding, subject to the obedience of those ceremonial and levitical laws, which did concern them every one in his calling, which doth appear by the examples of Christ Himself and His Apostles; who, although they were baptized, did not sever themselves from the manner of the worshipping[p] of God in those times. Insomuch as first they did celebrate together the feast of the passover, before our Saviour Christ made them partakers of His last Supper. Neither is it to be questioned, but that many, who did believe in Christ, their and our Saviour, then amongst them, had new born children, before His passion, which were as well circumcised as baptized. For then, as circumcision was not repugnant to baptism, no more was baptism any impediment to circumcision, being both of them so united together and qualified, as they could not well be severed during the continuance of the levitical law and priesthood.

We grant, that upon our Saviour Christ His birth and further proceedings in the execution of His office, not only the Jewish ceremonies, but in like sort their priesthood, began both of them to shake, and did, after a sort, draw near to their end; but until our Saviour Christ said upon the cross, 'It is finished,' and that the vail was rent in twain, from the top to the bottom, they neither of them had utterly lost their levitical natures, power and authority.

Joh. 19. 30. Mat. 27. 51.

[o] 'The true.' *D.*

[p] 'Of worshipping.' *D.*

And therefore it must be held, that although, by the preaching of our Saviour and of His Apostles, many men's hearts were drawn to believe that Christ was the Messiah Whom they expected, and that they were thereby made actually partakers of many of those mercies which by figures and sacrifices had been formerly set out unto them; as also, that in regard thereof they might be termed, in a right good sense, the beginning of a new Church; yet did they neither in respect of their faith and baptism make any separation, but were only the better part of the old Church; nor might they, in regard of either of them, have lawfully exempted themselves from the government of it. Which is further manifest by the words of our Saviour Christ Himself, when He saith thus; 'If thy brother trespass against thee, go, and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother, but if he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that, by the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be confirmed. And if he will not vouchsafe to hear them, tell it unto the Church.' For by the Church, in this place, the ecclesiastical courts established amongst the Jews, at that time, must, as we think, be understood; there being then no other courts of that nature amongst them which had any authority to punish[q] such obstinate persons as Christ there speaketh of. So as our Saviour Christ did here refer the parties, offended by some of their brethren, to the said ecclesiastical courts, in
131 the same respect and sense, and no otherwise, than He sent the lepers, whom He had healed, to the priests, according to the law; or when He referred the multitude to the Scribes and Pharisees, to be instructed by them because they sat in Moses' chair. Besides, whatsoever is spoken by the Evangelists of the Church that should be built upon a rock so strongly as that the gates of hell should not be able to prevail against it, or of the power and authority to bind and loose, by censures or otherwise; that is no way to be applied to the said Church or Sanhedrim mentioned by St. Matthew, or to any particular assembly of Christians, either before the passion of Christ or afterwards; but was only spoken and delivered, by way of prophecy, of the Catholic Church, which

Mat. 18. 15.

[q] 'Any such.' *D.*

BOOK II.

after the resurrection and ascension of our Saviour Christ should be established in the world in a more conspicuous and universal sort than formerly it had been. And yet we do not deny but that Christ, in the said words, 'Tell the Church,' meaning the Jews' courts or Sanhedrims, might very well insinuate, in that He called not those courts by their own names, but termed them the Church, that, in such cases as there are by Him mentioned, the Christians, in time to come, should accordingly repair unto their ecclesiastical courts, to be established amongst them throughout the Christian world for reformation of offenders and satisfaction in points of religion; as the Jews of all sorts, whether believers or not, were bound, until the death of Christ, to repair to their priests and Sanhedrims, if either they meant to be truly instructed in the laws or to have such manner of offences lawfully punished by those kind of censures that Christ, in the said place, speaketh of.

But what should we insist so much upon this point to prove that all the Jews, that either believed in Christ or did reject Him, were bound, before the passion of our Saviour Christ, to be obedient to the ecclesiastical governors esta- 132
blished by God Himself in that visible Church; considering how careful our Saviour Christ was, upon every occasion offered, for the preservation of their authority whilst it was to endure, and with what humility He did submit Himself unto it? For being sent for by them, He was content, at that time, to go unto them, and to be examined by them, when He had found them many ways before to be His mortal enemies, and knew how at that present they were plotting to take away His life, by corrupting of Judas to betray Him into their hands and by suborning of false witnesses to accuse Him; as also how, after they had examined Him, they would use Him most despitefully and scornfully, spit in His face and buffet Him, beat Him with rods, carry Him bound as a malefactor and deliver Him to Pilate the civil magistrate; likewise how they themselves would be His accusers, how they would practise with the people to prefer Barabbas his liberty, being a murderer, before His, and to cry out with them, to Pilate, 'Let Him be crucified, let Him be crucified; crucify Him, crucify Him;' [Lu. 23. 21.]

their outrage and fury being so bent against Him as that they themselves would have put Him to death, if by the laws of the Romans, whereunto they were then subject, they might have been permitted so to have done.

CANON III.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that our Saviour Christ whilst He lived upon the earth was not obedient to the state ecclesiastical, as He was to the temporal; or, that all
133 Christians by His example are not bound to be as well obedient to their Church-governors, as they are to their civil magistrates; or, that Christian kings have not now as full authority to appoint some festival days of public thanksgiving to God, in remembrance of some great and extraordinary mercies of His, shewed unto them upon those days, as Judas Maccabæus had to ordain the feast of the Dedication of the Temple to be yearly celebrated; or that, where any such festival days are appointed, the subjects of every such kings, ought not by Christ His example in celebrating the said feast, to observe and keep them; or, that all the true members of the Church are not taught by Christ His example, in His observing of the ceremonial law, being then in force, that they likewise are bound to observe all such constitutions and ceremonies as for order and decency are with all due cautions established in any particular Church, by the chief governors of it, until it shall please them the said governors to abrogate them; or, that all Christians are not bound by Christ's example to refrain all bitterness of calumniation and detraction, and to deal temperately and mildly with their ecclesiastical
134 governors, in respect of their authority, that it be not brought into contempt, though they find some imperfections either in their persons, or in their proceedings, as He, our said blessed Saviour, in the same respect, dealt with the priests of the Jews, though they had many ways transgressed, and were

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His mortal enemies; or, that Christ, by whipping buyers and sellers out of the temple, did either impeach the authority of the priests or practise therein any pontifical or temporal power, as if He had been a temporal king, or did the same by any other authority than as He was a prophet; or, that Christians are not now as strongly bound in doubts of religion to repair unto the chief ministers and ecclesiastical governors, although they are not always tied to do as they do, as were the Jews in such like cases bound to repair to them that sat in Moses' seat; or, that every true Christian, when for the said cause he repaireth to the chief ministers and governors of the Church to be resolved by them, is any further now bound to depend upon such their resolutions than they are able to shew them unto him out of the word of God; or, than the Jews were bound to believe the Scribes and Pharisees, though they sat in Moses' chair, when they taught them any thing which was not agreeable to that which Moses had commanded; or, that Christ His example in condemning the false interpretations and glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, and in restoring to the law the true sense and original meaning of it, hath not ever since warranted learned and godly men, when they found the Scriptures perverted by those that govern the Church, of purpose to make their own gain thereof and to maintain their great usurpations, to free the same by searching the said Scriptures from all such false interpretations and glosses, and to make plain, as much as in them did lie, the true sense and meaning of them; or, that our Saviour Christ, when He purged divers parts of the law from the gross and erroneous expositions of the Scribes and Pharisees, did give any other sense and meaning of them, or infer upon it any new rules of greater perfection, either as He was man or as He was a prophet, than they had and contained originally, when He first gave them to the Israelites, as He was God; or, that it is not an erroneous and fond conceit, like unto that of the sectaries amongst the Jews, especially of the Pharisees, for any sort of persons, no way able to perform their duties to God in such manner and sort

as they ought, once so much as to imagine that by the observation of their own rules they are able to attain to greater perfection than by the observation of God's rules; or, that it is not as vain and fond an imagination as the former for any Christian man to think that the enjoying of such possessions and riches as God hath blessed him with is repugnant to that perfection which God hath required at his hands; or, that the same are otherwise incompatible with the said perfection than in such cases only when either they must leave their worldly estates, or Christ their Saviour; or, that our Saviour Christ, by laying of some grounds for the future estate of the Church after His passion, did thereby erect any new Churches apart from that Church which was to continue until His death; or, that the example of Christ and His Apostles, in holding society and communion with the Jews in the outward worship and service of God, doth not condemn all such sectaries as do separate themselves from the Churches of Christ whereof they were once members, the same being true
137 Churches by lawful authority established, under pretence of they know not what new Christianity; or, that there ought not to be now amongst Christians, ecclesiastical courts for ecclesiastical causes, as well as there were such courts amongst the Jews for such kind of causes; or, that all Christians are not now bound to repair, as well to ecclesiastical courts and governors for reformation of such offences as are of ecclesiastical conusance, as the Jews were bound to repair to their Sanhedrims to have those evils redressed that were to be reformed by those courts; or, that as many as do profess themselves to be true imitators of Christ in their lives and conversation, are not bound to such obedience unto their princes and rulers, how evil disposed soever they be, yea though they seek their lives, as Christ shewed and performed both to the ecclesiastical and temporal state of the Jews at what time He knew they were plotting His death, he doth greatly err.

cognizance

BOOK II.

CHAPTER V.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That our Saviour Christ, after His resurrection and ascension, did not alter the form of temporal government established by Himself long before His incarnation; and that therefore emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, though they were then infidels, were nevertheless to be obeyed by the subjects, as formerly from the beginning they had been.

It hath been before observed by us that our Saviour Christ whilst He lived in this world was no temporal king, nor had any temporal dominion, court, possession, regal state, dukes, earls, lords, or any other subjects, as other temporal kings had, to obey and serve Him. But perhaps after His resurrection it was far otherwise with Him. Indeed so it was; for whereas the Son of God, God Himself, equal to the Father, by being made man, did cease to put in practice the glory and majesty of His deity in His human nature, otherwise than by doing such miracles as He thought necessary for the conversion of those who were to believe in Him; now after His resurrection and ascension, the state of His human nature was become, as it may well be said, much more glorious; because His divine nature did communicate unto His human nature so many divine dignities and operations of His deity, in respect of the hypostatical union betwixt them, as the same was capable of, without turning of His divine nature into His human nature; it being always to be understood that the said hypostatical and real union, notwithstanding there was never any confusion betwixt the 139
two natures in Christ[r], both of them always retaining their distinct and essential proprieties. Which ground observed, we may truly say that the attributes are admirable, which in regard of the said union are and may be ascribed unto our Saviour Christ, as He is man; especially after His resurrection and ascension: for some short proof hereof these places following may suffice. Before our Saviour Christ commanded

[r] 'Of Christ.' *D.*

His Apostles 'to go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' He told them, lest they should have doubted whether He had any authority to make them so large a commission, 'that all power was given unto Him in heaven and in earth.' He also was before, as the Holy Ghost testifieth of Him, 'made heir of all things,' and so had a true interest in them; and after His resurrection had the full possession of them. 'We see Jesus,' saith the Apostle, 'crowned with glory and honour.' And again, 'When God raised up Jesus Christ from the dead, He set Him at His right hand, in heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might and domination, and every name that is named, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come; and hath made all things subject under His feet.' And again, 'The kingdoms of this world are our Lord's and His Christ's.' And again, 'The Lamb is Lord of lords, and King of kings.' And to conclude, 'He hath upon His garment, [and] upon His thigh, a name written, The King of kings, and Lord of lords.'

BOOK II.

Mat. 28. 18, [19.]

Heb. 1. 2.

Heb. 2. 9.

Eph. 1. 20, 21, 22.

Rev. 11. 15; 17. 14; 19. 16.

Howbeit, all that we have hitherto said notwithstanding, though all the world doth actually appertain unto our Saviour Christ, now in glory, as He is man, in respect of the said unition or hypostatical union; yet did He not alter, after His resurrection and ascension, the manner of temporal government which He had ordained throughout the world[s], before His incarnation, as He was God, (His human nature being invested by the power of His divinity, in manner before expressed, with all His said glory and authority;) but doth still continue the sole monarch over all, distributing that His universal kingdom, as formerly He had done, into divers principalities and kingdoms, and appointing temporal kings and sovereign princes as His substitutes and vicegerents to rule them all by the rules and laws of nature if they be ethnics; or if Christians, then not only by those rules, but also as well by the equity of the judicial laws which He gave to the Jews, as by the doctrine of the Gospel more thoroughly opened and delivered with all the parts of it by Himself and His Apostles, than in former time it had been. Of Christian kings we shall have fitter place to speak

[s] 'Throughout the world before His incarnation, as He was God.' *D.*

BOOK II. hereafter. Now we will prosecute this point concerning the regal authority of princes that are infidels, and consider more particularly, whether they did not, and so consequently do not still, as lawfully enjoy their kingdoms and regal sovereignties[t] under our Saviour Christ after His resurrection and ascension, as they did before either of them, and likewise as they did before His incarnation, according to that which we have delivered in the former chapter. And the especial reason that moveth us so to do is the audacious temerity of the before-named ignorant Canonists and of their adherents, the new sectaries of the Oratory Congregation; who, with the like ignorance and folly that they told us how all kings lost their interest and authority over their kingdoms by the birth of our Saviour Christ, do furthermore endeavour very wickedly and sottishly to pervert such especial places in the Apostle's writings, as are most apparently repugnant to their said fancy, or rather frenzy. To make their dealing with one place apparent, is sufficient for our purpose. Whereas St. Paul, writing to the Romans, willeth them to be subject to the higher powers, or teacheth them, as a late absurd[u] Canonist abridgeth the place, *obediendum esse principibus*, 'that princes are to be obeyed:' he speaketh not, saith he, *de Ethnicis*, as that place is corruptly alleged, *sed quatenus de illis intellexit*, that is, 'in such a sense as he meant it.' And what the Apostle meant he is not ashamed to tell us in this sort, saying, (1.) 'the Apostle speaketh of the Roman empire, which Christ had approved when He bade the Jews pay tribute to Cæsar, (2.) the text doth expound itself, for he writeth to Christians, whom he counselleth to be obedient to princes, lest they should sin; for princes are not to be feared for good works, but for evil; therefore he doth not simply command obedience to ethnic princes, &c. (3.) The like manner of writing St. Paul used in exhorting servants to honour their lords, *etiam infideles*, though they were infidels, for the reasons by him there mentioned. (4.) By those monitions, meaning the said commandments of the Apostle concerning obedience of subjects to their princes and of servants to their masters,

Rom. 13. [1.]

1 Tim. 6. [1, 2.]

[111]

[t] 'Legal sovereignties.' *D.* Par. i. cap. 24. n. 38. [See note K.]

[u] Dr. Marta. Tract. de Jurisdic.

just dominion is not founded in the persons of ethnics, *nam Paulus, qui hoc dicit, non erat summus pontifex;* for Paul who said so, was not a chief Bishop, &c. (5.) Furthermore, in that time of the primitive Church, the Church could not *de facto,* punish infidels and transfer their kingdoms, &c. Thus far this audacious and unlearned Canonist; the very citation of whose words we hold sufficient to refute them; although he allegeth for himself to support them very grave authors, the Distinctions, forsooth, the Gloss, Hostiensis, and Præpositus; adding that some other Canonists do concur with him. Only we will oppose against him and all his said fellows[x], to shew their follies by a proof of this nature, the testimony of the pope's chief champion, the only Jesuit without comparison, now a principal cardinal, who maintaineth in express terms, that infidel princes are true and supreme princes of their kingdoms, and writeth thus against the said assertion of the Canonist directly; saying, God doth approve the kingdoms of the gentiles in both the Testaments, 'Thou art king of kings, and the God of Heaven hath given thee thy kingdom and empire,' &c. Dan. 2

142 'Restore those things unto Cæsar that are Cæsar's.' Note [37.] Mat. 22. that He saith not 'give,' but, 'Restore those things that are [21.] Cæsar's;' that is, those things which in right are owing unto him. "Give unto all men that which is due unto them; Rom. 13. tribute to whom you owe tribute, and custom to whom you [7.] owe custom,' &c. *Et jubet ibidem etiam propter conscientiam obedire principibus ethnicis; at certè non tenemur in conscientia obedire illi, qui non est verus princeps;* that is, 'and we are commanded in the same place, even for conscience to obey princes that are ethnics; but assuredly we are not bound in conscience to obey him who is no true, lawful, or right prince.' Hitherto the Cardinal[y].

We would not have cited this man's testimony thus at large were not all that he hath said therein thoroughly supported by all the learned men, as we suppose, of his society; and sufficient to refel the vanity of the Canonists and their fellows in that folly. For if we should insist herein upon the authority of men, all the ancient Fathers do fully concur with us; that through the whole course of the Scriptures

[x] 'All his fellows.' *D.*

[y] [See note L.]

BOOK II. obedience was and is as well prescribed in the Old Testament to ethnic princes as unto the kings of Judah; and so likewise in the New Testament, as well to infidel princes as Christian; the precepts of the Apostles in that behalf being general, and so to be applied as well to the one sort as to the other, in that they hold their kingdoms of Christ equally, as is aforesaid, and therefore ought to be equally obeyed by their subjects, with that general caution which was ever understood, viz. in those things which they commanded them and were not repugnant to the commandments of God. And therefore the judgments of the ancient Fathers being in this sort only remembered by us, we will not much insist upon them; but give that honour which is due, especially in a matter so apparent, unto the sole authority of holy Apostles; who writing by the direction of the Holy Ghost those things which Christ Himself before had taught them, do give unto all Christians and subjects to what manner of kings soever these precepts following.

Rom. 13. [1, &c.] 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; for the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves judgment. For princes are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou then be without fear? do well; so shalt thou have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought: for he is the minister of God to take vengeance of him that doth evil. Wherefore he must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. For this cause ye pay also tribute; for they are God's ministers, applying themselves for the same thing.'

In which words of the Apostle, in saying that princes have their power from God, and that he is God's minister, there is no repugnancy to that which we have above said concerning the great honour and dignity of the humanity of our Saviour Christ after His resurrection and ascension, to prove that kings do hold their kingdoms under Christ, as He is man, the Lamb of God and Heir of all the world. For we were very careful to have it still remembered that all the

said power and dignity which He hath, as He is man, doth proceed from His divinity; and likewise, that by reason of the real union of the two natures in our Saviour Christ, that which doth properly belong to the one nature may very truly be affirmed of the other. So as it may in that respect be very well said and truly, that all kings and princes receive their authority from Christ, as He is man; and likewise, that
144 they receive their authority from Christ, as He is God; and that they are the ministers of Christ being man, and the ministers of God without any limitation. But it is plain that the said words of the Apostle do very thoroughly refute the vanity mentioned of the Canonists and their new companions; in that by the said words it appeareth very manifestly, that kings do not otherwise hold their kingdoms of the humanity of Christ than they did before of His divine nature. They have their authority, saith the Apostle, from God, and they are God's ministers. And there is nothing written, either by St. Paul or by any other of the Apostles, which swerveth in any point from this doctrine, where they write of the obedience due unto all kings and sovereign princes; whose testimonies in that behalf we are, as we promised, a little further to pursue.

BOOK II.

[Rom. 13. 1, &c.

'I exhort,' saith St. Paul, 'that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.' And again, 'Put them,'—that is, both old and young, and all sorts of persons that are purged to be a peculiar people unto Christ,—'in remembrance, that they be subject to the principalities and powers, and that they be obedient and ready to every good work.' Also St. Peter saith to the same effect, 'Submit yourselves unto all manner of ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be unto the king, as unto the superior; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent of Him for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that by well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; as free and not as having the liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. Honour all men,
145 love brotherly fellowship, fear God, honour the king.' And

1 Tim. 2. 1, &c.

Titus 3. 1.

1 Pet. 2. 13, &c.

BOOK II.

the same Apostle, describing the nature of false teachers, which in times to come would thrust themselves into the Church, and by feigned words make a merchandize of their followers, amongst other impieties, he noteth them with these, that commonly they are despisers of government, presumptuous persons, and such as stand in their own conceits, men that fear not to speak evil of them that are in dignity; but as brute beasts, led with sensuality and made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of those things which they know not. And with St. Peter in this point the Apostle St. Jude doth concur; where, speaking of those who in future times should be makers of sects, He termeth them mockers, and men that had not the Spirit of God. And speaking also of such like wicked persons as were crept into the Church in the Apostles' days, he saith, they did despise government and spake evil of them that were in authority. In all which places thus by us noted, concerning as well the dignity and authority of sovereign kings and princes, as the fear, duty and obedience which all their subjects were truly and sincerely, without murmuring or repining, to yield and perform unto them, though they were then ethnics; when we consider the manner of their delivery of that evangelical doctrine and their grounds thereof, as also how vehemently they have written against all such persons as either did then, or should afterward, oppose themselves unto it by despising of civil magistrates, speaking evil of them, or in any other sort whatsoever; we are fully persuaded that they neither commanded, taught, or writ any thing therein but what they knew to be the will of God, and did accordingly believe to be true. For we hold it resolutely, that whatsoever the Apostles did either write, teach, or command, they writ, taught, and commanded it as they were inspired and directed by the Holy Ghost; because when our Saviour Christ was to leave the world, He promised to send unto them the Holy Ghost, the Comforter and Spirit of truth; which should lead them, not into any by-ways or shifting conceits, but into the direct and plain paths of all truth: and did very shortly after perform that His promise, when upon the day of Pentecost they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, as St. Luke witnesseth. Besides, the Apostle St. Paul himself

2 Pet. 2. 10, &c.

Jude 18, 19.

2 Tim. 3. 16. 2 Pet. 1. 21. Joh. 13. [? 16. 7, 13.] 116

Acts 2. 4.

doth profess, both in his own name and in the behalf of the rest of the Apostles, his fellows, that their Master, being the Truth itself, after He had so mercifully and liberally performed His said promise unto them, they did not deal with the Word of God as vintners, regraters, or merchants do with their mixed wines and adulterated wares; that is, mingle[z] it with any untruths or superstitious conceits, or vent it out otherwise than the truth did therein warrant them, or did apply it with fraud either to serve their own or any other men's designments, or delivered it with any such inward reservations and mental evasions, as when they did most seem to their hearers to speak one thing directly, they had such another meaning as when time should serve they might make use of; but whatsoever they said, they spake it sincerely, *sicut ex Deo*, as God did guide them by the Holy Ghost, *coram Deo*, as in the sight of God, unto Whom they were one day to give an account of their said sincerity; *et in Christo*, as their blessed Saviour Himself had preached, taught them, and had commanded them.

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CANON IV.

Therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the Deity of our Saviour Christ doth not since His resurrection and ascension otherwise execute the majesty and glory thereof in His humanity than it did before His passion; or, that Christ now in glory is not actually the heir of all things, as He is man so highly exalted, and both King of kings and Lord of lords; or, that He, now sitting at the right hand of God in glory and majesty, as He is man, hath made an alteration in the manner of temporal government ordained by Himself long before, as He is God; or, that now all the kingdoms in the world being but one kingdom in respect of Himself, He doth not allow the distributing of that His one universal kingdom into divers principalities and kingdoms, to be ruled by so many kings and absolute princes under Him; or, that

[z] [καπηλεύοντες. See Wolfii Curæ Philolog.]

BOOK II. such kings and sovereign governors as were ethnics, were deprived by Christ's ascension into heaven and most glorious estate there from the true interest and lawful possession of their kingdoms which before they enjoyed; or, that the ancient 148
Fathers were deceived in holding and maintaining that all Christians in the primitive Church were bound to obey such kings and princes as were then pagans; or, that the subjects of all the temporal princes in the world were not as much bound in St. Paul's time to be subject unto them, as the Romans were to be subject to the empire, not only for fear, but even for conscience sake; or, that St. Paul's commandment, by virtue of his apostleship and assistance of the Holy Ghost, of obedience to princes, then ethnics, is not of as great force to bind the conscience of all true Christians as if he had been then *Summus Pontifex;* or, that any pope now hath power to dispense with the said doctrine of St. Paul, as the said Canonist, by us quoted, doth seem to affirm; where after he hath said that the Apostle St. Paul, commanding all men to be obedient to superior powers, was not the highest bishop, he addeth these words, *papa major est administratione Paulo, et papa dispensat contra Apostolum in his quæ non concernunt articulos fidei;*—the pope is greater in authority than Paul, the pope doth dispense against the Apostle in those things that do not concern the articles of faith; [or,] that the 149
primitive Church was not as well restrained *de jure,* by the doctrine of Christ's Apostles, as *de facto,* from bearing arms against such princes as were then ethnics, and transferring of their kingdoms from them unto any others; or, that St. Peter himself, who[a] our adversaries would make the world believe, was then the highest bishop,—concurring with the Apostle St. Paul when he commanded the Christians in those days to submit themselves unto the king, as unto the superior, they both of them, we are assured, commanding therein as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, did leave this doctrine so jointly taught, to be dispensed with afterwards by any pope, his vicar, led by what spirit is easy to be dis-

[a] 'Whom.' *A.*

cerned, being so far different from the Holy Ghost, which PART spake, as is aforesaid, by the said Apostles; or, that it is not II. a most wicked and detestable assertion for any man to affirm, that the Apostles, in commanding such obedience to the ethnic princes then, did not truly mean as their plain words do import, but had some mental reservations, whereby the same might be altered as occasion should serve; or, that the Apostles at that time, if they had found the Christians of sufficient force, both for number, provision and furniture of warlike engines, to have deposed those pagan princes that were then both enemies and persecutors of all that believed in Christ; would, no doubt, have moved and authorized them to have made war against such their princes, and absolved them from performing any longer that obedience which they, as men temporizing, had in their writings prescribed unto them; or, that when afterward Christians were grown able for number and strength to have opposed themselves by force against their emperors, wicked[b] and persecutors, they might lawfully so have done, for any thing that is in the New Testament to the contrary; or, that these and such like expositions of the meaning of the holy Apostles, when they writ so plainly and directly, are not very impious and blasphemous, as tending not only to the utter discredit of them and their writings, but likewise to the indelible stain and dishonour of the whole Scriptures, in that they were written by no other persons of any greater authority than were the Apostles, nor by the inspiration and direction of any other Spirit, he doth greatly err.

[b] 'Being wicked.' *D.*

CHAP. VI.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That our Saviour Christ, after His resurrection and ascension did not in effect alter the form of ecclesiastical government amongst the Jews; the essential parts of the priesthood under the law (otherwise than as the said priesthood was typical and had the execution of Levitical ceremonies annexed unto it), being instituted and appointed by God to continue, not for a time, but until the end of the world.

WE have deduced, in our former book, the joint descent of the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, from the beginning of the world unto the incarnation of our Saviour Christ. Since Whose birth, seeing we have found no alteration in the temporal government of the world, either whilst Christ lived here upon the earth, or during the time of His Apostles, assuredly we shall not find that the alteration which upon Christ's death fell out in the Church, was so great as some have imagined. For as our Saviour Christ, according to His divine nature having created all the world, was the sole monarch of it, and did govern the same visibly by kings and sovereign princes, His vicegerents upon earth; so He in the same divine nature being the Son of God, and foreseeing the fall of man, and how thereby all His posterity should become the children of wrath, did of His infinite mercy undertake to be their Redeemer; and presently after the transgression of Adam and Eve, put that His office in practice; whereby, as He was *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi*, He not only began the erection of that one Church, selected people, and society of believers, which ever since hath been, and so shall continue His blessed Spouse for ever; but also took upon Him thenceforward and for ever to be the sole monarch and head of it, ruling and governing the same visibly by such priests and ministers under Him, as in His heavenly wisdom He thought fit to appoint, and as we have more at large expressed in our said former book; especially when He settled amongst the Jews a more exact and eminent form of ecclesiastical

[Rev. 13. 8.]

[Rev. 21. 2.]

government than before that time He had done. In the which His so exact a form, He first did separate the civil government from the ecclesiastical, as they were both jointly exercised by one person, restraining the priesthood, for a time, unto the tribe of Levi, and the civil government unto temporal princes, and shortly after, more particularly unto the tribe of Juda. Concerning the priesthood thus limited we need to say little; because the order and subordination of it is so plainly set down in the Scriptures. Aaron and his sons after him, by succession, had the first place, and were appointed to exercise the office of the High-Priests; and under their sovereign princes and temporal governors (as we have shewed in our said first book, chap. xviii[c].) did bear the chief sway in matters appertaining to God. Next unto Aaron there were twenty-four priests of an inferior degree, that were termed *principes sacerdotum*, that governed the third sort of priests, allotted unto their several charges; and this third sort also had the rest of the Levites at their direction. In like manner, these Levites neither wanted their chief rulers to order them, according as the said third sort of priests did command, which rulers were termed *principes Levitarum*, in number twenty-four, nor their assistants, the Gabionites, otherwise called Nathinæi, to help them in the execution of their baser offices. Of this notable form of ecclesiastical government, it may be truly said of it in our
153 judgments, that the same being of God's Own framing, it is to be esteemed the best and most perfect form of Church-government that ever was, or can be devised; and that form also is best to be approved and upheld which doth most resemble it and cometh nearest unto it.

We said upon a fit occasion[d], that by the death of our Saviour Christ the Church-government then amongst the Jews was greatly altered; and therefore do think it very convenient in this place more fully therein to set down our meaning. It is very true that before the death of Christ the outward service of God did much consist in figures, shadows, and sacrifices; the Levitical priesthood itself, as it was tied[e] to Aaron and his stock, and in some other respects, being

[c] [p. 26.]
[d] Lib. ii. cap. 4. [p. 102.]
[e] [The word 'tied' is omitted in *D.*]

BOOK II. only a type of our High-Priest, Jesus Christ. But afterwards, when by His passion upon the cross He had fulfilled all that was signified by the said figures, shadows, and sacrifices; and had likewise not only abolished them, but freed the tribe of Levi of the charge of the priesthood, and removed the high-priesthood (as it was typical), from the said priestly tribe unto the regal tribe of Juda, the same being now settled in Himself, our only High-Priest, according to the order, not of Aaron, but of Melchizedech; He hath by that His translation of the priesthood, freed His Church from the ceremonial law, which contained in it little but patterns, shadows, and figures of that one sacrifice offered by Him upon the cross, which doth sanctify all the faithful, and purge their consciences from dead works to serve the living God. Nevertheless in this so great an alteration, although all the said figures, shadows, sacrifices, and whatsoever else was typical in the true worship of God and priesthood of Aaron, were truly fulfilled and had their several accomplishments according to the natures of them, yet we are further to understand, that as from the beginning there was a Church, so there was ever a ministry: the essential parts of whose office, howsoever 154
otherwise it was burdened with ceremonies, did consist in these three duties; viz. (1.) preaching of the Word; (2.) administration of Sacraments; (3.) authority of ecclesiastical government; and that none of all the said figures, shadows, and sacrifices, or any other ceremony of the Levitical law, had any such relation to any of the said three essential parts of the ministry, as if either they, the said three essential parts of the ministry, had only been ordained for their continuance until the coming of Christ, or that the accomplishment and fulfilling of the said ceremonies had in any sort prejudiced or impeached the continuance of them, or any of them. So as the said three essential parts of the ministry were in no sort abolished by the death of Christ, but only translated from the priesthood under the law to the ministry of the New Testament; where, in the judgment of all learned men, opposite in divers points one to another, they do or ought for ever to remain, to the same end and purpose for the which they were first ordained.

Heb. 7. 12. Heb. 10. [5.] 10. Heb. 9. 14.

Now concerning the two first essential parts of this our

ministry or priesthood of the New Testament, there are no difficulties worthy the insisting upon, how they are to be used. Only the third essential part of it, as touching the power of ecclesiastical regiment, is very much controverted, and diversely expounded, extended, and applied. For some men, relying upon one extremity, do affirm, that it was in the Apostles' time radically inherent only in St. Peter; and so, by a certain consequence, afterwards in his supposed vicar the bishop of Rome, to be derived from St. Peter first to the rest of the Apostles and other ministers, whilst he lived, and then after his death, in a fit proportion to all bishops, pastors, and ministers to the end of the world, from the bishops of Rome: and that St. Peter during his time, and
155 every one of his vicars, the bishops of Rome successively, then did, and still do occupy and enjoy the like power and authority over all the Churches in the world, that Aaron had in the Church established amongst the Jews. There are also another sort of persons that run as far to another extremity, and do challenge the said power and authority of ecclesiastical regiment to appertain to a new form of Church-government by presbyteries to be placed in every particular parish; which presbyteries, as divers of them say, are so many complete and perfect Churches, no one of them having any dependency upon any other Church; so as the pastor in every such presbytery, representing after a sort Aaron the High-Priest, there would be by this project, if it were admitted[f], as many Aarons in every Christian kingdom as there are particular parishes. And the authors of both these so different and extreme conceits, are all of them most resolute and peremptory that they are able to deduce and prove them out of the form of Church-government which was established by God Himself in the Old Testament. Howbeit, notwithstanding all their vaunts and shows of learning, by perverting the Scriptures, councils, and ancient Fathers, the mean betwixt both the said extremes is the truth, and to be embraced; viz. that the administration of the said power of ecclesiastical regiment under Christian kings and supreme magistrates doth especially belong, by the institution of

[f] The words, 'if it were admitted,' are added between the lines, but by the original scribe.

BOOK II. Christ and His Apostles, unto archbishops and bishops; this mean bearing the true portraiture and infallible lineaments of God's own ordinance above-mentioned, and containing in it divers degrees of priests, agreeable to the very order and light of nature; some superior to rule, and some inferior to be ruled, as in all other societies and civil states it hath ever been accustomed. So as we are bold to say, and are able to justify it, that as our Saviour Christ, as He is God, had formerly ordained in His national Church amongst 156
the Jews, priests and Levites of an inferior order to teach them in every city and synagogue, and over them priests of a superior degree, termed *principes sacerdotum*, and lastly, above them all, one Aaron with Moses, to rule and direct them; so He no ways purposing by His passion more to abrogate or prejudice this form of Church-government ordained by Himself, than He did thereby the temporal government of kings and sovereign princes, did, by the direction of the Holy Ghost and ministry of His Apostles, ordain in the New Testament that there should be in every national Church, some ministers of an inferior degree to instruct His people in every particular parochial church or congregation; and over them bishops of a superior degree, to have a care and inspection over many such parochial churches or congregations, for the better ordering as well of the ministers as of the people within the limits of their jurisdiction; and lastly, above them all, archbishops, and in some especial places patriarchs, who were first themselves, with the advice of some other bishops, and when kings and sovereign princes became Christians, then with their especial aid and assistance, to oversee and direct, for the better peace and government of every such national Churches, all the bishops and the rest of the particular Churches therein established.

And for some proof hereof we will conclude this chapter with the testimony of one of no mean account and desert; who, when archbishops and bishops did most obstinately oppose themselves, as being the pope's vassals, to the reformation of the Church, was the principal deviser of the said presbyteries, though not in such a manner as some have since with too much bitterness urged, whereof, out of all question, he would never have dreamed if the said bishops had not been so

obstinate, as they were, for the maintenance of such idolatry
157 and superstition as were no longer to be tolerated. These are his words; that every province had amongst their bishops one archbishop; that also in the Nicene Council, patriarchs were appointed, who were in order and degree above archbishops; that did appertain to the preservation of discipline. And a little after, speaking of the said form of government so framed, although he shewed some dislike of the word 'hierarchia,' yet saith he, *Si, omisso vocabulo, rem intueamur, reperiemus veteres episcopos non aliam regendæ Ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere, ab eâ, quam Dominus verbo Suo præscripsit*[s].

CANON V.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that our Saviour Christ was not the head of the Church from the beginning of it; or, that all the particular churches in the world are otherwise to be termed one Church, than as He Himself is the head of it, and as all the particular kingdoms in the world are called but one kingdom, as He is the only king and monarch of it; or, [Rev. 11. 15; 12. 10.] that our Saviour Christ hath not appointed under Him several ecclesiastical governors to rule and direct the said particular churches, as He hath appointed several kings and sovereign princes to rule and govern their several kingdoms;
158 or, that by His death He did not abolish the ceremonial law and the Levitical priesthood, so far forth as it was typical and had the execution of the said ceremonial law annexed unto it; or, that He did any more abrogate by His death, passion, resurrection and ascension, the power and authority of church government, than either He did the other two essential parts of the said priesthood or ministry, or the power and authority of kings and sovereign princes; or, that He did more appoint any one chief bishop to rule all the particular churches which should be planted throughout all kingdoms, than He did appoint any one king to rule and govern all the particular kingdoms in the world; or, that it was more reasonable or

[s] Calvin. Instit., lib. iv. cap. 4. § 4. [See note M.]

BOOK II. (chap. II.)

necessary, as hereafter it shall be further shewed, to have one bishop to govern all the churches in the world, than it was to have one king to govern all the kingdoms in the world; or, that it is more necessary or convenient to have every parish with their presbyteries, absolute churches, independent upon any but Christ Himself, than that every such parish should be an absolute temporal kingdom, independent of any earthly king or sovereign magistrate; or, that the government of every national Church under Christian kings and sovereign princes, by archbishops and bishops, is not more suitable and correspondent to the government of the national Church of the Jews, under their sovereign princes and kings, than is either the government of one over all the churches in the world, or the settling of the form of that national church-government in every particular church, he doth greatly err.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That the form of church-government, which was ordained by Christ in the New Testament, did consist upon divers degrees of ministers, one over another; Apostles in pre-eminence and authority superior to the evangelists; and the evangelists superior to pastors and doctors; and that the Apostles, knowing themselves to be mortal, did, in their own days, by direction of the Holy Ghost, as the numbers of Christians grew, establish the said form of government in other persons, appointing several ministers in sundry cities, and over them bishops; as also over such bishops certain worthy persons, such as Titus was, who were afterwards termed archbishops; to whom they did commit so much of their apostolical authority as they held then necessary, and was to be continued for the government of the Church.

We had in our former book the Scriptures at large, containing the histories and doctrine both of the law and the Gospel, after the manner that was then prescribed, from the time of the creation until the days of the prophet Malachi;

that is, for above three thousand five hundred years; whereupon we did ground the particular points by us therein handled, concerning the government as well ecclesiastical as temporal. And for the supply of the other years following till the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, we observed some things to the same purpose out of the apocryphal books, second to the Scriptures, and to be preferred before all other writers of those times. But now, forasmuch as the New
161 Testament is but, in effect, a more ample declaration of the Old; shewing withal how the same was most throughly fulfilled by our Saviour Christ, without the impeachment of any kind of government by Himself ordained, as before we have expressed, and because the books of the Evangelists and Apostles do only contain the acts and doctrine of our Saviour Christ and His Apostles, with the form and use both of the temporal and ecclesiastical government, during the time whilst they lived here upon the earth;—St. John, who lived the longest of them all, dying about sixty-six years after Christ's passion; although the Holy Ghost did judge the said books and writings sufficient for the Church and all that profess Christianity, to teach and direct them in those things which should appertain either to their temporal or ecclesiastical government, or should be necessary unto their salvation; yet for the said reasons we were induced for the upholding of the temporal and ecclesiastical government in the New Testament, to insist so much as we have done upon the precedents and platforms of both those kinds of governments established in the Old Testament; albeit we want no sufficient testimonies in the New to ratify and confirm as well the one as the other.

First, therefore, we do verily think, that if our Saviour Christ or His Apostles had meant to have erected in the churches amongst the Gentiles any other form of ecclesiastical government than God Himself had set up amongst the Jews, they would have done it assuredly in very solemn manner, that all the world might have taken public notice of it; considering with what majesty and authority the said form was erected at God's commandment by His servant Moses. But in that they well knew how the form of the old ecclesiastical government, in substance, was still to con-

BOOK II.

tinue and to be in time established in every national kingdom and sovereign principality amongst Christians, as soon as they should become for number sufficient bodies and ample churches to receive the same; as before the like opportunity 162
it was not established amongst the Israelites; they did in the meanwhile, and as the time did serve them, attempt the erecting of it in such sort and by such fit and convenient degrees, as by direction of the Holy Ghost they held it most expedient, without intermission, till [such time[h]] as the work was, in effect, accomplished.

It hath been before touched how our Saviour Christ here upon earth did not only choose to Himself, for the business He had in hand, twelve Apostles, who were then designed in time to come to be the patriarchs and chief fathers of all Christians, with some resemblance, as it hath ever been held, of the twelve sons of Jacob, who had been in their days the patriarchs and chief fathers of all the Israelites; but likewise He took unto Him, over and besides His said Apostles, seventy, or as some read seventy-two disciples[i], to be in the same manner His assistants, in imitation of Moses when he chose
[Exod. 24. 1, 9.] seventy elders to be helpers unto him for the better government of the people committed to his charge. None of these, either Apostles or disciples, had then any other duties committed unto them but only of preaching and baptizing; for the power of ecclesiastical regiment they might not then intermeddle with, because it did appertain to the priests and courts of the Jews. But afterwards that want and some other defects in them were throughly supplied, when our Saviour Christ upon His resurrection and a little before His ascension, enlarging their commission, did commit unto His
[Joh. 20. 23.] Apostles the administration of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and shortly after furnished not only them but the said disciples also, according to their several functions, most abundantly with all such gifts and heavenly graces as were necessary for them in those great affairs which were imposed upon them. Whereby we find already two complete degrees of ecclesiastical ministers, ordained by Christ Himself inme- 163
diately, viz. His twelve Apostles and His seventy disciples;

[h] [The words 'such time,' being wanting in the MS. are supplied from *D.*]

[i] [See note N.]

the one in dignity and authority above the other, the disciples in that respect being termed secondary Apostles, and were the same, as it is most probably held, who were afterwards called evangelists. We will not intermeddle with the prophets in those times, of whom the Scriptures make mention; because divers of them were no ministers of the Word and Sacraments, of whom only we have here taken upon us to intreat; leaving in like manner the said seventy disciples, or evangelists, as before they had been assistants to Christ, so now to be directed by His Apostles. Touching whose blessed calling it is to be observed, that the end of it was not that they should only for their own times, by preaching the Word, administering the Sacraments, and likewise by their authority of ecclesiastical regiment, draw many to the embracing of the Gospel, and afterwards to rule and order them as that they might not be easily drawn again from it; but were in like sort to provide for a succession in their ministry, of fit persons sufficiently authorized by them, to undertake that charge, and as well to yield some further assistance unto them whilst they themselves lived, as afterwards; also, both to continue the same in their own persons unto their lives' end; and in like manner to ordain, by the authority of the Apostles given unto them, other ministers to succeed themselves; that so the said apostolical authority, being derived in that sort from one to another, there might never be any want of pastors and teachers, 'for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the Body of Christ,' unto the end of the world. [Acts 21. 8, &c.] [1 Cor. 14. 37.]

This then being the duty of the said Apostles, and that it may be evident what it was which they did communicate unto the ministry, it is to be observed that some things in the Apostles were essential and perpetual, and were the sub-
164 stance of their ministry, containing the three essential parts before mentioned, of preaching, administering the Sacraments, and of ecclesiastical government; and that some were but personal and temporary, granted unto them for the better strengthening and approving of their said ministry, with all the parts of it; there being then many difficulties and impediments which did many ways hinder the first preaching and plantation of the Gospel. In the number of their said

BOOK II. personal or temporary gifts or prerogatives, these may be accounted the chief, viz. (1.) that they were called immediately by Christ Himself, to lay the foundation of Christian faith amongst the gentiles; (2.) that their commission for that purpose was not limited to any place or country; (3.) that they had power, through imposition of their hands, to give the Holy Ghost by visible signs; (4.) that they were directed in the performance of their office by the especial inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and lastly, that their doctrine, which they delivered in writing, was to be a canon and rule to all churches for ever. All which personal prerogatives, although they did appertain[k] and were then adherent to the essence of the apostolic function, and were necessary at the first for the establishing of the Gospel, yet it is plain that they did not contain in them any of the said essential parts of the ministry, and likewise that they could not be communicated by the Apostles unto any others; so as either the Apostles, for the propagation and continuance of the ecclesiastical ministry, did communicate to others the said three essential parts of it, viz. power to preach, to administer the Sacraments, and authority of government, (wherein must be degrees, some to direct and some to be directed,) or else they died all with them, which were a very wicked and an idle conceit; the Apostles having power to communicate them all alike, as by their proceedings it will appear. At the first, they themselves with the evangelists and so many of the prophets as were ministers of the Word and Sacraments, after they had converted many to the faith, did execute in their own persons, agreeably to their several callings, all those ecclesiastical functions as were afterwards of necessity and in due time to be distinguished and settled in some others. Whereby it came to pass that the Church in Jerusalem during that time had no other deacons, priests, nor bishops, but the Apostles, the evangelists, and the said prophets. But afterwards the harvest growing great, as to disburden themselves of some charge they ordained deacons, so their own company, Apostles, disciples, or evangelists and prophets, coming short of that number of labourers which the said harvest required, they did for their further aid choose unto themselves, by the

[k] 'Then appertain.' *D.*

inspiration of the Holy Ghost, certain other new disciples and scholars, such as they found meet for that work, and after some good experience had of them, made them by the imposition of their hands, priests and ministers of the Gospel; but did not for a time tie them to any particular places, as having designed them to be their followers[1], labourers, and coadjutors. 2 Tim. 1. 6.

These men, the Apostles had commonly in their company, and did not only employ their pains and diligent preaching for the speedier propagation of the Gospel, which was their first and most principal care, but likewise did use to send them hither and thither, their occasions so requiring, to the churches already planted, as their messengers and legates, sufficiently authorized for the despatching of such affairs as were committed unto them. Of this number were Timothy, Titus, Marcus, Epaphroditus, Sylvanus, Andronicus, and divers others; who in respect of such their apostolical employments, and because also the Apostles did oftentimes commend them greatly and joined their names with their own in the beginnings of sundry their epistles to divers churches, were men of great authority and reputation amongst all Christians in those days, and had the name itself of Apostles given unto them, as formerly it hath been observed of the seventy disciples. And these were the persons who were afterwards, when they were tied to the oversight of divers particular churches or congregations, termed bishops, as it will afterwards appear. Now because these apostolical persons were still to attend upon the Apostles and their designments, as is above mentioned, and for that the number of Christians every where did still increase, the Apostles held it necessary to ordain, by imposition of their hands, a second degree of ministers, who were thereupon still to remain in the particular churches or congregations that were already planted in divers cities, for in those populous places churches were first settled, whilst the Apostles, evangelists and prophets, that were ministers, with their coadjutors, were travelling from place to place as the Holy Ghost did direct them, to plant and order other churches in other cities elsewhere, as God should bless their labours. Rom. 16. 21. 2 Cor. 8. 23. Phil. 2. 25. Philem. 1. 24. [2 Tim. 4. 11.] [2 Cor. 1. 19.] [Rom. 16. 7.] [2 Cor. 1. 1; Phil 1. 1; Coloss. 1. 1, &c.] Rom. 16. 7; 2 Cor. 8. 23; Phil. 2. 25.

[1] 'Fellow-labourers.' *D.*

BOOK II.

The office of this second degree of ministers was by preaching and administering the Sacraments, to confirm and increase, to their uttermost ability, the number of Christians[m] in those cities where they kept their residence; and likewise in the absence of the Apostles, by their common and joint counsel to advise and direct every particular congregation and member of it, as well as they could, when any difficulties did occur. Besides, it appertained unto them by preaching of the Gospel and of the law, and upon conference with such as were penitent, to bind and loose men's sins, and to keep back from receiving the Holy Communion such as were notorious and obstinate offenders, until either willingly by their persuasion, or afterwards by the Apostles' further chastisements, they were brought to repentance. Only they wanted power and authority of ordination to make ministers, and of the apostolical keys to excommunicate. For the Apostles had reserved in their own hands those two prerogatives, and were themselves, during those first times, now spoken of by us, not so far from the said cities, churches, and ministers, but that they well might, and did, throughly supply all their wants whatsoever, and also set an order in all matters of difficulty, when they fell out amongst them, concerning either doctrine or discipline, sometimes themselves in their own persons, and sometimes by their letters, or messengers, as the importance of those causes did require. In these times it may well be granted that there was no need of any other bishops but the Apostles, and likewise that then their churches or particular congregations in every city were advised and directed touching points of religion in manner and form aforesaid by the common and joint advice of their priests or ministers. In which respect, the same persons, who then were named priests or ministers, were also in a general sense called bishops. Howbeit this course dured not long, either concerning their said common direction, or their names of bishops so attributed unto them, but was shortly after ordered far otherwise by a common decree of the Apostles, to be observed in all such cities where particular churches were planted, or, as one speaketh, *in toto orbe*[n],

Acts 14. 23; 2 Tim. 1. 6. 2 Thess. 3. 14; 1 Cor. 4. 21; 2 Cor. 13. 2; 1 Cor. 6. [5.] 3. 5.

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[m] The MS. here faultily reads, 'in number of Christians.'

[n] Jerom. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. i. [See note O.]

'throughout the world.' For the number of Christians growing daily in every city throughout those provinces and countries where the Apostles, evangelists, prophets, with their coadjutors, first travelled to plant the Christian faith, it was still more and more necessary that they should be distinguished into more congregations than they were before, and that also the number of their said ministers that were to be resident amongst them should be accordingly increased. By reason of which increase, as well of Christians and particular
168 congregations, as of their said ministers, as also for that now it began to come to pass that neither the Apostles, nor the evangelists, nor their coadjutors and messengers, could be always so ready and at hand or present with them as before they had been, many questions, dissensions and quarrels fell out amongst them, both ministers and particular congregations mentioned, as by the places quoted in the margent it is evident; the people being as apt, through affection and private respects, to adhere to one man more than to another, as sundry of their ministers then were prompt for their own glory to entertain all comers, and to embrace every occasion that might procure them many followers; not sparing to oppose themselves in their pride against the very Apostles, and to charge them with ambitious seeking of pre-eminence above their brethren ministers; as if they had meant to tyrannize and domineer over all churches. Insomuch as St. John complained in his time of such insolencies; and St. Paul was driven to purge himself, but yet in such sort as he stood upon the justification of his apostolical authority: I grant, saith he, that they are ministers of Christ, but withal he addeth these words, 'I am more;' protesting, that although he was more than they were, yet he sought to have no dominion over the faith of any. The places quoted in the margent deserve due consideration, and many other to the same purpose might be added unto them.

BOOK II.

Rom. 16. 17; 2 Cor. 11. 3, 4. Gal. 1. 6. 2. 4; Phil. 3. 2, 3. Col. 2. 4, 8, 18. 1 Thess. 4. 13. [2 Thess. 2. 2, 3; Acts 20. 29, 30; 2 Pet. 2. 1, &c.; 1 Joh. 2 Ep. v. 1.

2 Cor. 1. 24; 2. 4, 17; 10. 12, 18; 11. 5, 23; 12. 11. 3 Joh. 9.

[2 Cor. 11. 23.]

[2 Cor. 1. 24.]

Now forasmuch as the Apostles did well understand of the said oppositions, dissensions, and emulations, and that the people had as well experience what equality wrought amongst their ministers in every place, whilst each man would be a director as he list himself, and accordingly broach his own fancies without controlment or sparing of any that stood in

BOOK II.

his way; as also how themselves, the people, were distracted and led to the embracing of divers sects and schisms; they, the said Apostles, having now no such leisure and oppor- 169
tunity as that they could themselves every where appease these quarrels, did find it necessary to settle another course for the redress of them by others. For whereas before, the Apostles held it convenient, when they first placed[o] ministers in every city, to detain still in their own hands the power of ordination and the authority of the keys of ecclesiastical government, because they themselves, for that time, with the evangelists and others their coadjutors, were sufficient to oversee and rule them; now for the reasons above mentioned they did commit those their said two prerogatives, containing in them all episcopal power and authority, unto such of their said coadjutors as upon sufficient trial of their abilities and diligence they knew to be meet men; both whilst they themselves lived, to be their substitutes, and after their deaths to be their successors, both for the continuance of the work of Christ, for the further building of His Church, and likewise for the perpetual government of it. And in this manner, the ministers of the Word and Sacraments, who had the charge but of one particular church or congregation, and were of an inferior degree, were distinguished from the first and superior sort of ministers, termed, most of them, before, 'the Apostles' coadjutors,' and now and from thenceforth called Bishops. Unto which sort of worthy and selected coadjutors, and unto some others also of especial desert so advanced to the titles and offices of bishops, the Apostles did commit the charge and oversight of all the particular congregations, ministers and Christian people that dwelt in one city and in the towns and villages thereunto appertaining.

Rev. 1. 11; [2. 1, 8, 12, &c.] And such were the angels of the seven churches in Asia, who were then the bishops of those cities, with their several territories; and so in all times and ages that since have succeeded have ever been reputed. And unto some others, the most principal and chief men of the said number, the Apostles did likewise give authority, not only over the parti- 170
cular congregations, ministers and people in one city, and in the towns that did belong unto it, but likewise over all the

[o] 'Planted.' A.

churches in certain whole provinces or countries, as unto Timothy all that were in Asia the Less, and unto Titus all that were planted throughout the island of Crete. And this sort of bishops, who had so large jurisdictions over the bishops themselves in particular cities, were afterwards called archbishops; over whom, in like manner, as likewise over all the rest, bishops and ministers, and particular churches, the Apostles themselves, as the chief fathers and patriarchs of all churches, had, whilst they lived, the chief pre-eminence and oversight to direct and overrule all, as they knew it to be most convenient and behoveful for the Church; communicating notwithstanding unto the said bishops and archbishops, now their substitutes, but in time to be their successors, as full authority in their absence, with the limitations mentioned for the ordering of ministers, for the use of the keys, and for the further government of all the churches committed to their charges, by the good advice and counsel of the inferior sort of priests or ministers under them, when causes so required, as if they, the Apostles themselves, had been present or could have always lived to have performed those duties in their own persons; their patriarchal authority for government not ceasing or dying with them. Of this authority of ordination and government given to bishops by the holy Apostle St. Paul, he himself hath left to all posterity most clear and evident testimonies; where writing to two of his said bishops, Timothy and Titus, he describeth very particularly the essential parts of their duties and episcopal office, in manner and sort following. BOOK II. 1 Tim. 3. 5. Tit. 1. 5.

'For this cause I left thee at Crete, that thou shouldst continue to redress the things that remain, and shouldst ordain priests (or elders) in every city, as I appointed thee.' Tit. 1. 5.

171 'Lay hands hastily on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins.' 'Let them first be proved, then let them minister, if they be found blameless.' 'Against a presbyter (or priest) receive no accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear.' 'I pray thee to abide at Ephesus, to command some that they teach no strange doctrine, neither that they give heed to fables and genealogies which are endless, and do breed questions, rather than godly edification which is by 1 Tim. 5. 22; 3. 10; 5. 19. 1 Tim. 1. 3, 4, 7.

BOOK II.

faith. They would be doctors of the law; and yet understand not what they speak, neither whereof they affirm.'

Tit. 1. 10, 11. 'There are many disobedient and vain talkers and deceivers of minds; whose mouths must be stopped, which subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for

Tit. 3. 9; 3. 10; 2. 15. filthy lucre's sake.' 'Stay foolish questions and contentions; reject him that is an heretic after one or two warnings.' 'These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority; see that no man despise thee.' 'What things thou hast heard of me, the same deliver to faithful men, which

2 Tim. 2. 2; 2. 14; 2. 16; 2. 23. shall be able to teach others also.' 'Put them in remembrance, and protest before the Lord, that they strive not about words, which is to no profit, but to the perverting of the hearers.' 'Stay profane and vain babblings: for they shall increase unto more ungodliness.' 'Put away all foolish and unlearned questions; knowing that they engender strife.'

1 Tim. 5. 21. 'I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one to another; and do nothing partially.'

Divers other particulars might be hereunto added, were it not that these are sufficient for our purpose, to shew as well what power was given to the said Timothy and Titus, two apostolical bishops newly designed unto their episcopal 172
functions, as also what authority the Apostle himself had whilst he lived, both of prescribing rules unto them and also of exacting the due observation of them; he retaining still in his own hands as full power and ample jurisdiction over them, as they the said bishops had received from him over the rest of the ministry within their several charges.

And thus we see how by degrees the Apostles did settle the government of the Church amongst the gentiles converted to Christ, most suitable and agreeing with the platform ordained by God Himself amongst the Jews. Ministers are placed in particular congregations, as priests or levites were in their synagogues. Twenty-four priests, termed *Principes Sacerdotum*, had in that kingdom the charge over the rest of the priests; and amongst Christians one sort of priests, named bishops or archbishops, as their j
tended, had the oversight of the rest of the ministry
hood. Lastly, as over all the priests of what sort soever, and

over the rest of all the Jews, Aaron had the chief pre-eminence; so had the Apostles over all the bishops and priests, and over the rest of all Christians. There was only this want to the full accomplishment of such a church-government as was settled amongst the Jews, that during the Apostles' times, and for a long season afterwards, it wanted Christian magistrates to supply the rooms of Moses, king David, king Solomon, and of the rest of their worthy successors.

There is no mention in the Scriptures of the particular success that the rest of the Apostles had in planting of churches throughout all Africa and Asia the Great, and a great part of Europe; but we doubt not but that they followed that same course in those parts that other of the Apostles did in these parts[p] nearer, or better known to us; they proceeding within their limits as St. Paul did within his. And moreover, we have sufficient warrant by the said practice of our Apostles to judge that if all the kings and
178 sovereign princes in the world would have received the Gospel whilst the Apostles lived, they would have settled this platform of church-government under them in every such kingdom and sovereign principality; that as the three essential parts of the priesthood under the law were translated to the ministry or priesthood in the New Testament, so the external show or practice of them might have been in effect the same under Christian princes that it was under the godly princes and kings of Judah; Christians of particular congregations to be directed by their immediate pastors, pastors to be ruled by their bishops, bishops to be advised by their archbishops, and the archbishops, with all the rest both of the clergy and laity, to be ruled and governed by their godly kings and sovereign princes.

CANON VI.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the platform of church-government in the New Testament may not lawfully be deduced from that form of church-government which was

[p] The words 'that other of the Apostles did in these parts,' are omitted in *D*.

BOOK II.

in the Old; or, that because the Apostles did not once for all and at one time, but by degrees, erect such a like form of ecclesiastical government as was amongst the Jews, therefore it is not to be supposed that they meant at all to erect it; or, that their expectation of fit opportunity to establish that kind of government in the churches of the Gentiles, being con- 171
verted to Christ, hath any more force now to discredit[q] it, than had the want of it for many years amongst the Jews to blemish the dignity of it when it was there established; or, that the Apostles had no further authority of church government committed unto them after the resurrection and ascension of Christ, than they had before His passion; or, that there was not as great necessity of sundry degrees in the ministry, whilst the Apostles lived, one to rule, another to be ruled, for the establishing and government of the Church, as there was whilst the priesthood of Aaron endured; or, that Christ Himself did not, after a sort, approbe of divers degrees of ministers, some to have pre-eminence over others, in that having chosen to Himself twelve Apostles He did also elect seventy disciples, who were neither superior nor equal to the Apostles, and were therefore their inferiors; or, that He did not very expressly after His ascension appoint divers orders and degrees of ministers, who had power and pre-eminence one over another, Apostles over the prophets and evangelists, and the evangelists over pastors and doctors; or, that the authority of preaching, of administration of the Sacraments, and of 172
ecclesiastical government given to the Apostles, was not to be communicated by the Apostles unto others as there should be good opportunity in that behalf; or, that because there were some personal prerogatives belonging to the Apostles, which they could not communicate unto others, therefore they had not power to communicate to some ministers, as well their authority of government over other ministers, as their authority to preach and administer the Sacraments; or, that in the authority of government so to be communicated unto others by the Apostles, there are not included certain degrees to be in

[q] 'Force to discredit.' *D.*

the ministry, some to rule and some to be ruled; or, that it was not lawful for the Apostles to choose unto themselves coadjutors and to make them ministers of the Word and Sacraments, though they tied them for a space to no certain place, more than they themselves and the Evangelists were limited or tied, but kept them in their own company, as if they had been, in a manner, their fellows, and employed them in apostolical embassages as there were occasions; or, that the Apostles might not lawfully ordain a second order of ministers
171 by imposition of their hands, to preach and administer the Sacraments, and to tie them to particular churches and congregations, there to execute those their duties; or, that the ministers of that second degree and order, so tied unto their particular charges, had any power committed unto them, either at all to make ministers or to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against any of their congregation but by the direction of the Apostles when they had given the sentence, during all the time that the Apostles kept in their own hands the said two points of ecclesiastical authority[r]; or, that it was not expedient for the Apostles to retain in their own hands the power and authority of ecclesiastical government for a time, and whilst they were able to execute the same in their own persons, or by their coadjutors, as they should direct them, and not to communicate the same either to any their said coadjutors or other persons of the ministry, until they themselves had good experience and trial of them, and that the particular churches also in every city found the want of such men, so authorized, to reside amongst them; or, that when the said ministers, placed in divers particular churches in sundry
172 cities, fell at variance amongst themselves which of them should be most prevalent amongst the people, and drew their followers into divers sects and schisms, it was not high time for the Apostles, seeing by reason of their great affairs and business otherwise they could not attend those particular brawls and inconveniences, to appoint some worthy persons in

[r] In the MS. a slip of paper pasted over the leaf, supplies, in the hand of the original scribe, an omission which he had made at this point.

BOOK II.

every city to have the rule, government, and direction of them; or, that when such men were to be placed in such cities, the Apostles did not make especial choice of them, out of the number of their said coadjutors, and likewise out of the rest of the ministry, to execute those episcopal duties which did appertain to their callings; or, that when they had so designed and chosen them to be bishops, they did not communicate unto them as well their apostolical authority of ordaining of ministers and power of the keys, as of preaching and administering the Sacraments; or, that it was not the meaning of the Apostle St. Paul, that such persons as Timothy and Titus were, ought to be made bishops in such cities and countries as were the province of Ephesus, and the kingdom of Crete, and to have the like authority and power given them in their several cities, with their suburbs, diocese or province, [175] that was committed to Timothy and Titus, for the ruling of those ministers and churches under them; or, that the authority given by the Apostle St. Paul, or by any other of the Apostles, to Timothy and Titus, and such like other bishops or archbishops, did any more diminish the power and authority, which the Apostles had in their own hands before they appointed any such bishops or archbishops to rule and govern them all, than their giving power and authority of preaching and administering the Sacraments did impeach their own authority so to do, he doth greatly err.

179 CHAPTER VIII. BOOK II.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That the churches and godly Fathers that were immediately after the Apostles' times, and all the ancient Fathers since, did account the form of church-government established by the Apostles, of priests and ministers, for more particular charges, of bishops, superior to the said priests, and of archbishops, to have the care and oversight of the said bishops and churches committed unto them, not to have been ordained for their times only, but to be continued to the end of the world; the same reasons exacting the continuance of it, which moved the Apostles, by the direction of the Holy Ghost, first to erect it.

We have pursued the form of ecclesiastical government, so far forth as it is expressed in the Scriptures and as it was put in practice during the Apostles' times. For the further proof whereof, we have thought it expedient briefly to observe what the primitive Church, ancient Fathers, and the ecclesiastical histories, have in their writings [s] testified and said of this matter; as, whether they held that Timothy and Titus were bishops in the Apostles' times, and had authority over the churches and ministry committed to their charge; and whether that form of church-government in the Apostles' times, wherein were divers degrees of ministers, one sort to direct and rule, viz. bishops [t], and the other to be directed and ruled, was only necessary for the first plantation of the Churches, but not so afterwards when the churches were planted; as if it had been a lawful form of government
180 whilst the Apostles lived, but upon their deaths it became presently to be unlawful. It is very apparent and cannot be denied, that in many Greek copies [u] of the New Testament, Timothy and Titus are termed bishops in the directions or subscription [x] of two epistles which St. Paul did write unto

[s] [The word 'apocryphal' has been inserted before 'writings,' but it has been removed in accordance with a memorandum prefixed to the chapter in a hand which appears to be Overall's.]

[t] [The words 'viz. bishops' are inserted above the line, but by the first hand.]

[u] [See note P.]

[x] [For 'inscriptions' as it stands in the MS. here and p. 146. l. 6. *D.* reads 'subscription,' according to the authority of the corrections mentioned in a previous note.]

BOOK II. them. These are the words of the said directions; 'The second epistle written from Rome unto Timotheus, the first bishop elected of the church of Ephesus.' And again; 'To Titus elect the first bishop of the Cretians, written from Nicopolis in Macedonia.' Moreover, agreeable to the said subscription, the ancient Fathers generally, having, no doubt upon their due searching the Scriptures, fully considered of the form of ecclesiastical government whilst the Apostles lived, do with one consent, whensoever they expound the epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, or have occasion to speak of the authority of those two persons, very resolutely affirm that they were by the Apostles made bishops. And the same also they do testify of St. James the Apostle himself, called the Lord's brother; that he was made by the rest of the Apostles, his colleagues, bishop of Hierusalem; and so also of the Seven Angels of the churches in Asia, that they were so many bishops of the Apostles' ordination. Besides, the said ancient Fathers[y] did very well know that when St. Paul said to Timothy, 'I charge thee in the sight of God and before Jesus Christ, that thou keep this commandment without spot, and unrebukeable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ;' that it was impossible for Timothy to observe those things till the coming of Christ, he being to die long before; and that therefore the precepts and rules which St. Paul had given unto him, to observe in his episcopal government, did equally appertain as well to bishops, his successors, as unto himself, and were to be executed by them successively after his death unto the world's end, as carefully and diligently as he himself, whilst he lived, had put them in practice. One of the said Fathers doth write as followeth[z]: 'With great vigilancy and providence doth the 181
Apostle give precepts to the ruler of the church; for in his person doth the safety of the people consist. He is not so circumspect, as fearing Timothy's care, but for his successors; that after Timothy's example they should observe the ordination of the church, and begin themselves to keep that form which they were to deliver to those that came after

[y] Tertull. contra Marcion., lib. v; Chrysost. Hom. x. in 1 Tim.; Ambr. in 1 Tim. vi.; Oecum. in 1 Tim. vi. [See note Q.]

[z] Ambr. ibid. [See note R.]

them.' Again, it is evident by the ecclesiastical histories [a], that not only St. James, Timothy, and Titus, were made bishops by the Apostles, but that likewise Peter himself was bishop of Antioch; so termed, because of his long stay there; and that the Apostles likewise made Evodius bishop of Antioch after St. Peter, and St. Mark bishop of Alexandria, and Polycarpus bishop of Smyrna; and that St. John, returning from Patmos to Ephesus, went to the churches round about and made bishops in those places where they were wanting; and also that divers others of the Apostles' coadjutors, besides Timothy and Titus, were made by them bishops, and did govern the cities and provinces where they were placed, according to the same rules that were prescribed to Timothy and Titus; as Dionysius the Arcopagite was the first bishop of Athens, Caius the first bishop of Thessalonica, Archippus the first bishop of the Colossians [b]; and we doubt not but many more by diligent reading may be found, that were in the Apostles' times made bishops. BOOK II.

Furthermore, it is most apparent by the testimonies of all antiquity, Fathers, and ecclesiastical histories, that all the churches in Christendom that were planted and governed by the Apostles, and by such their coadjutors, apostolical persons, as unto whom the Apostles had to that end fully communicated their apostolical authority, did think that after the death, either of any of the Apostles, which ruled amongst them, or of any other the said bishops ordained by them, it
182 was the meaning of the Holy Ghost, testified sufficiently by the practice of the Apostles, that the same order and form of ecclesiastical government should continue in the church for ever. And therefore upon the death of any of them, either Apostles or bishops, they, the said churches, did always supply their places with others the most worthy and eminent persons amongst them; who, with the like power and authority that their predecessors had, did ever succeed them. Insomuch as in every city and episcopal see, where there were divers priests and ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and but one bishop only, the catalogues of the names, not of their priests but of their bishops, were very carefully kept

[a] Euseb., lib. iii. cap. 35; Iren., lib. iii. cap. 3; Euseb., lib. iii. cap. 23. [See note S.]

[b] Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 4; Origen. in cap. xvi. ad Rom.; Ambr. ad Coloss. cap. iv. [See note T.]

BOOK II.

from time to time, together with the names of the Apostles, or apostolical persons, the bishops their predecessors, from whom they derived their succession. Of which succession of bishops, whilst the succession of truth continued with it, the ancient Fathers made great account and use when any false teachers did broach new doctrine, as if they had received the same from the Apostles; choaking them with this, that they were not able to shew any apostolical church that ever taught as they did. Upon such an occasion, Irenæus bishop of Lyons, within seventy-five years, or thereabout, after St. John's death, doth write in this sort; *Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur*[c]. And so likewise, not long after him, Tertullian, to oppress some who, as it seemeth, drew companies after them, saith thus; *Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum; evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, aut apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem et antecessorem; hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sensus suos deferunt*[d]. And St. Augustine, *Radix Christianæ societatis per* 183 *sedes Apostolorum et successores episcoporum certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur*[e].

Again, forasmuch as it was thought by our Saviour Christ the best means for the building and continuing of His Church in the Apostles' times, to ordain sundry degrees of ministers in dignity and authority, one over another, when such a kind of pre-eminence might have been thought not so necessary, because the Apostles by working of miracles, might otherwise, as it is probable, have procured to themselves sufficient authority; how can it with any reason be imagined but that Christ much more did mean to have the same still to be continued after the Apostles' days, when the gifts of doing miracles were to cease and when men's zeal was like to grow more cold than it was at the first. It savoureth assuredly, we know not of[f] what faction, indiscre-

[c] Iren. adv. Hæres., lib. iii. cap. 3. [See note V.]
[d] Tertull. de præscrip. adv. Hæres. [See note U.]
[e] August. Epist. 24. [See note W.]
[f] [we know of what. *D.*]

tion, or affection for any man, either to think that form of church-government to be unfit for our times that was held necessary for the Apostles' times; or that order, so much commended amongst all men, and is most properly termed *parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio*, should be necessary to build the Church, but unfit to preserve it; or, that the same artisans that are most meet to build this or that house, are not the fittest both to keep the same in good reparations, and likewise to build other houses, when there is cause. No man can doubt, who is of any reading, but that, when the Apostles died, there were many defects in many churches; and that likewise there were a number of places in the world where the Apostles had never been, and where there were no[g] churches at all planted or established. Whereupon it followeth of necessity, that if the said form of government in the Apostles' days was then necessary for the planting and ordering of churches, that
184 the same did continue to be as necessary afterwards, for the supplying of such defects as were left in some churches, and for the planting and ordering of other churches in those places that had not received the Gospel whilst the Apostles lived. And to this purpose it doth much avail that for aught we can find, there can no one nation or country be named since the Apostles' days, neither in times of persecution nor since, but when it first received the faith of Christ, it had thereupon both bishops and archbishops placed in it for the government of the churches that were there planted; imitating therein, for their more certain direction, the government of the churches that were erected by the Apostles, and had been deduced from them, agreeable, in substance, with the form of ecclesiastical government that was once amongst God's own people, the Jews. Which was no new conceit amongst the ancient Fathers, as it may appear by the words of one of them[h], who saith, in effect, that bishops, priests and deacons, may challenge now that authority in the Church which Aaron and his sons and the Levites had in times past; and that the Apostles in establishing of their government in the New Testament, had respect

[g] [churches planted. *D.*]

[h] Jerom. Ep. ad Evagrium. [See note X.]

BOOK II. to that which was in the Old, for as much as concerned the essential parts of that priesthood.

Moreover, the primitive churches, presently after the Apostles' times, finding in the New Testament no one person to have been ordained a priest, or minister of the Gospel, mediately by men, but either by imposition of the Apostles' hands, or of their hands to whom they gave authority in that behalf, as unto Timothy and Titus, and such other bishops as they were; and knowing that the Church of Christ should never be left destitute of priests and bishops for the work of the ministry; they durst not presume upon their own heads to devise a new form of making of ministers, nor to commit that authority unto any other, after their own fancies, but 185
held it their bounden duty to leave the same where they found it, viz. in the hands of Timothy and Titus, and consequently of other bishops their successors. Whereupon it followeth very necessarily, that none of the primitive churches or ancient Fathers did ever so much as once dream that the authority given by St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and to the rest who were then made bishops, as well for the ordering of priests, as for the further order and government of the Church, did determine by the death of the Apostles; considering, that presently after, as long as they were in being and lived, and ever since till very lately, it was held by them altogether unlawful for any to ordain a priest or minister of the Word, except he were himself a bishop; and no one approved example for the space of above fifteen hundred years, can be shewed, for aught we find, to the contrary. It is true that one Coluthus[j], being himself but a priest, would needs take upon him to make priests, in spleen against his own bishop, the bishop of Alexandria, with whom he was then fallen at variance; and that the like attempt was made by one Maximus[k], supposing himself to have been a bishop, where he was indeed but a priest, as it was decided by the first Council of Constantinople. Howbeit such their ordinations were accounted void and utterly condemned as unlawful; they themselves not escaping such just reproof as so great a novelty and presumption did deserve. We acknowledge that for the great dignity of the action of ordination, it was

[j] [See note Y.] [k] [See note Z.]

decreed by another[1] council, that priests should lay their hands, with the bishop, upon him that was to be made priest; but they had not thereby any power of ordination; but only did it to testify their consent thereunto, and likewise to concur in the blessing of him; neither might they ever in that sort impose their hands upon any without their bishops.

186 Again, the said primitive churches and ancient Fathers, finding how the Apostles by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost had ordained bishops, Timothy, Titus, and such like, for the ordering and appeasing of such quarrels and contentions as arise amongst the ministers and people for want of some amongst them of authority to govern them; they might thereby have been confirmed more and more in their judgments, if at any time they had doubted of it, concerning the necessity of that apostolical form of government, that it was for ever to continue, to the end the schisms and contentious persons might be still by the same means suppressed that they were whilst the Apostles lived. For they ever observed what the want of bishops would work in the Church, and how the contempt of them and disobedience to their directions was always a chief cause of sects and schisms. Which made them easily to discern that if the Apostles had not provided for the continuance of their apostolical authority in bishops, who were to succeed them in the government of the Church, but had left an equality in the clergy, that every one might have proceeded in his own particular church after his own fashion, there would have been nothing in the Church but disorder, scandals, sects, schisms, and all manner of confusion. One of the ancient Fathers, perceiving in his time what pride and contempt certain unstaid and contentious persons shewed toward their archbishops, did lay it upon them as a property of heretics, and feared not to compare them to the devils. These are his words: *Quilibet hæreticus, &c. loquens cum pontifice, nec eum vocat pontificem, nec archiepiscopum, nec religiosissimum, nec sanctum; sed quid?—Reverentia tua;—et nomina illi adducit communia, ejus negans autoritatem. Diabolus hoc tum fecit in Deo; 'Ero similis Altissimo.' Non 'Deo,' sed 'Altissimo.'*

[1] [See note AA.]

BOOK II.

And another worthy Father[m], long before the days of the former, did accordingly observe that heretics and schismatics did usually spring from no other fountain but this; *Quod* 187 *sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur; nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos; et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur*[n];—'that the priest of God' (meaning every such bishop as he himself was in his own diocese) 'was not obeyed; nor one priest in the church acknowledged for the time to be judge in Christ's stead.' And again, *Unde schismata et hæreses abortæ sunt, et oriuntur; nisi dum episcopus, qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superbâ quorundam præsumptione contemnitur*[o]?—'Whence have schisms and heresies sprung up, and do still spring; but whilst the bishop, which is one, and ruleth the church, is by the proud presumption of certain despised?'

A third Father also, though at some times he had a sharp tooth against bishops, as they carried themselves in his time, doth confess nevertheless, that when schisms first began, bishops were ordained, *ut schismatum semina tollerentur;* and in another place, *in remedium schismatis, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi Ecclesiam rumperet.* Also where the same Father doth write against the Luciferians[p], and undertaketh the defence of bishops in a right point, untruly by them impugned, he speaketh of their authority within their several dioceses after this sort; *Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exors quædam et ab hominibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes;* that is, 'The safety of the Church doth consist in the dignity of the chief priest; unto whom, if an extraordinary and eminent power from other men be not yielded, there will be as many schisms in churches, as there are priests.'

Lastly, it is to be observed that in the Apostles' times the Roman empire had wrought a great confusion in all the kingdoms and countries about it, whilst in the greediness of honour in that state they had subdued their neighbour kings and princes, and turned their kingdoms and principalities

[m] [and another Father. *D.*]
[n] Cypr., lib. 1. Ep. iii. [See note BB.]
[o] Idem. lib. 4. Ep. viii. [See note CC.]
[p] Hieron. adv. Luciferianos. [See note DD.]

into provinces and consulships, and divers other such like forms of regiment[1]; leaving the same to the government of
188 their own substitutes, to whom they gave sundry and different titles. Which course, held by that state, caused the Apostles in their planting of churches, when they could not perform that which otherwise they would have done, to frame their proceedings as near unto it as they could. In the chief cities, which had been heads of so many kingdoms and were still the seat then of the principal Roman officers, principal persons were placed, who were bishops, and more than bishops; as St. James at Jerusalem, [and Jerusalem, notwithstanding it was honoured with the name and title [of the see of St. James,] was not the metropolitan seat, or archbishopric of that province, but Cæsarea; whose right is saved in the giving that honour to Jerusalem in the first Nicene Council[q];] St. Peter first in Antioch and then in Rome; and St. Mark in Alexandria; who remained in those places, as was then most behoveful for those churches, as so many principal archbishops, patriarchs, to rule and direct all the bishops, priests, and Christians, in Palestine, Syria, Italy, and Egypt. And in other cities also and countries, not so famous then as the said four, there were appointed, according to the largeness of their extents, in some, bishops, to govern the ministers which were in such cities; and in some others, such as Timothy and Titus were, who, as we have shewed in the former chapter, had the oversight committed unto them, as well of bishops, as of the rest of the churches within their limits. All which particulars, so put in practice by the Apostles, were very well known to the primitive churches and ancient godly Fathers that lived the first three hundred years after Christ; and gave them full assurance that they might lawfully pursue in those days that form of church-government which the Apostles themselves had erected; the state and condition of the times remaining still one and the same that it was when the Apostles lived. Whereupon, by
189 their example, they did not only continue the succession of bishops and archbishops in those places where the Apostles

BOOK II.

[1] government

[q] [The passage within brackets occurs on the slip prefixed to this chapter. The words 'of the see of St. James' are not in that addition, but are introduced from *D.* as they seem necessary to complete the sense.]

BOOK II.

had settled them; supplying other churches, either not throughly settled, or not at all planted, when the Apostles died, as before hath been mentioned, with the like church-governors; but did likewise preserve and uphold in those parts of the world, where Christianity did then chiefly flourish, the succession of patriarchal archbishops in the above-mentioned four most principal cities, Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria. Insomuch as it is commonly held that this apostolical order was thus distributed and settled by the Fathers of the primitive Church long before the Council of Nice; and that then in that holy assembly it was only but so acknowledged and continued, *idque ad disciplinæ conservationem*, as a very worthy man[r] hath observed.

The consideration of all which particular points concerning the placing of archbishops and bishops in the territories of the Romans, according to the dignities and chief honours of the cities and countries where they were placed, doth very throughly persuade us that, as we observed in the former chapter, if all the said kingdoms and sovereign principalities then in subjection to the Roman empire had been freed of that servitude, and governed by their own kings and princes as they had been before, the Apostles, though the said kings and princes had refused to receive the Gospel, would notwithstanding, as much as in them lay, have settled in every one of them, for the government of the church there, the like form that God Himself did erect amongst the Jews, and that they themselves did establish in their times in the like heathenish places, as is aforesaid, that is, in every such kingdom, ministers in particular churches or congregations, bishops over ministers, and archbishops to oversee and direct them all. And assuredly, if when Christian kings and 190
sovereign princes did free themselves from the yoke of the empire, they had either known or regarded the ordinance of the Holy Ghost for the government of the churches within their kingdoms and principalities, they would have been as careful to have delivered their churches from the bondage of the bishop of Rome as they were their kingdoms from subjection to the empire. For all that is commonly alleged to

[r] Calvin. [See note EE.]

the contrary is but the fume of presumptuous brains. The chief archbishops, either in France or Spain, have as full power and authority under their sovereigns, as the bishops of Rome in times past had over Italy under their emperor; and by the institution of Christ they ought to depend no more upon the see of Rome than they do now one upon the other; or than the archbishops of England, under their most worthy sovereign, do depend upon any of them; as it will hereafter more plainly, we hope, appear by that which we have to say of that infinite authority which the pope doth vainly challenge to himself.

CANON VII.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the inscriptions or directions of the second epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, or of his epistle to Titus, though they are found in the ancient copies of the Greek Testament, are of no credit or authority; or, that such an impeachment and discredit laid upon them is not very prejudicial to the books and writings of the Holy Ghost; or, that it is not great presumption for men in these days to take upon them to know better whether Timothy and Titus were bishops, than the churches and godly Fathers did, which were planted and lived either in the Apostles' times or presently after them, except they have some especial revelations from God; or, that whilst men do labour to bring into discredit the ancient Fathers and primitive churches, they do not derogate from themselves such credit as they hunt after, and as much as in them lieth bring many parts of religion unto a wonderful uncertainty; or, that it is probable, or was possible for Timothy to have observed those rules that St. Paul gave him until the coming of Christ, except, as the Fathers expound some of them, he meant to have them first observed by himself and other bishops in that age, and that afterwards they should so likewise be observed by all bishops for ever; or, that the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical his-

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tories, when they record it to all posterity, that these men, and those men, were made by the Apostles bishops of such and such places, are not to be held to be of more credit than any other historiographers or writers; or, that when the ancient Fathers did collect out of the Scriptures and practice of the Apostles, the continuance for ever of that form of church-government which was then in use, they were not so throughly illuminated with the Holy Ghost as divers men of late have been; or, that it was an idle course held by the primitive churches and ancient Fathers, to keep the catalogues of their bishops, or to ground arguments in some cases upon their succession, in that they were able to deduce their beginnings either from the Apostles or from some apostolical persons; or, that the form of government used in the Apostles' times, for the planting and ordering of churches, was not, in many respects, as necessary to be continued in the Church afterwards; especially considering that many churches were not left fully ordered, nor in some places were at all planted, when the Apostles died; or, that true and perfect order, grounded upon the very laws of nature and reason, and established by the Holy Ghost in the Apostles' times, was not fit for the churches of God afterwards to embrace and observe; or, that any church, since the Apostles' times, till of late, when it received the Gospel, had not likewise bishops and archbishops for the government of it; or, that divers of the ancient Fathers did not hold, and that very 193
truly, for aught that appeareth to the contrary, that our Saviour Christ and His Apostles, in establishing the form of church-government amongst the Gentiles, had an especial respect to that form which God had settled amongst the Jews, and did no way purpose to abrogate or abolish it: or, that any since the Apostles' times, till of late days, was ever held to be a lawful minister of the Word and Sacraments, who was not ordained priest or minister by the imposition of the hands of some bishop; or, that it is with any probability to be imagined that all the churches of Christ and ancient Fathers from the beginning, would ever have held it for an

apostolical rule, that none but bishops had any authority to make priests, had they not thought and judged that the same authority had been derived unto them, the said bishops, from the same apostolical ordination that it was committed unto Timothy and Titus, their predecessors; or, that the Apostles and all the ancient Fathers were deceived when they judged the authority of bishops necessary at all times for the suppressing of schisms; and that without bishops, there would 194 be in the churches as many sects as ministers; or, that when men find themselves, in regard of their disobedience to their bishops, so fully and notably described and censured by all the ancient Fathers for schismatics and contentious persons, they have not just cause to fear their own estates, if they continue in such their wilfulness and obstinacy; or, that the church-government, by us above treated of, is truly to be said to savour of Judaism, more than the observation by godly kings and princes of the equity of the judicial law given to the Jews, may truly be said to savour thereof; or, that it doth proceed from any other than the wicked spirit, for any sort of men, what godly show soever they can pretend, to seek to discredit, as much as in them lieth, that form of church-government which was established by the Apostles, and left by them to continue in the Church to the end of the world, under archbishops and bishops, such as were Timothy and Titus, and some others, then called to those offices by the said Apostles, and ever since held by the primitive churches and all the ancient Fathers to be apostolical functions; or, to term the same or any part of it to be anti-Christian, he doth greatly err.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER IX. 195

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That our Saviour Christ, upon His ascension into heaven, did not commit the temporal government of the whole world unto St. Peter; that the Apostles and the whole ministry did succeed Christ, not as He was a person immortal and glorious after His resurrection, but as He was a mortal man here upon the earth before His passion; that Christ left neither to St. Peter, nor to the bishops of Rome, nor to any other archbishops or bishops, any temporal possessions; all, that since any of them have gotten, being bestowed upon them by emperors, kings and princes, and other their good benefactors; and that the imagination of St. Peter's temporal sovereignty is very idle, the same being never known unto himself for aught that appeareth, and argueth great ignorance of the true nature of the spiritual kingdom of Christ; for the erecting whereof the spiritual working of the Holy Ghost with the Apostles, and the rest of the ministry of the Gospel, was, and is only necessary.

It hath been shewed by us before that our Saviour Christ, after His resurrection and ascension, became actually in the state[s] of the Heir of all things, Governor of all the world, and King of kings, even as He was man; His divine nature working more gloriously in His humanity than formerly it had done. Howbeit, although we also made it plain that notwithstanding the said glory, power, rule, dominion and majesty, wherewith Christ is really possessed, sitting in heaven at the right hand of His Father, He made no alteration in the form and manner of temporal government, but 196
left the whole world to be ruled by kings and sovereign princes under Him as it had been before; Himself retaining still in His own hands the sceptre and chiefest ensigns of royal and highest majesty, to direct and dispose them all according to His divine pleasure; yet the parasitical and sottish crew of Romish Canonists, with the new sectaries,

[s] ['Became actually the heir' is the reading of the text of the MS., but the alteration is made according to a slip at the beginning of the chapter, apparently in Overall's handwriting.]

their companions, will assuredly moyle[1] and repine thereat; telling us by the pen of one of their fellows, the veriest idiot we think amongst them[t], that all power, dominion, and worldly principality, was left by Christ, after His ascension, unto St. Peter; that two times are to be considered in Christ, the one before His passion, when *propter humilitatem* He refused to judge[u], that is, to shew Himself a temporal magistrate, the other after His resurrection, and then He said, 'All power is given unto Me, in heaven and in earth;' that Christ, after His resurrection, gave His power to St. Peter and made him His vicar; and that *ex potestate Domini* the power of His vicar is to be measured. And to advance that power as highly as he can, supposing that what he can say thereof doth belong to St. Peter, he quoteth a number of places out of the Scriptures[x], concerning the dignity, honour, royalty and majesty attributed to our Saviour Christ after His resurrection and ascension, by reason of the unition so oft before by us mentioned[y]; and doth conclude that *cessantibus rationibus humilitatis, necessitatis, atque paupertatis*, that the reasons of His former humility, necessity, and poverty ceasing, Christ did shew Himself to be the Lord of all; *ut ascensurus ad Patrem eandem potestatem Petro reliqueret*. And moreover he is peremptory that Peter did exercise this temporal power *in suâ propriâ naturâ temporaliter*, 'in the proper nature of it temporally;' for it is said in the Acts[z], (chap. v.) that he condemned Ananias and Sapphira, *pro crimine facti ad pœnam civiliter*, 'for the crime of a fact to a punishment civilly.' Now if Peter was so great a temporal monarch whilst he lived, what must we think of his vicar, the pope; and how royal is the estate of all archbishops and bishops that have any dependency upon him? For as the especial jesuit and cardinal, an enemy to the Canonists in this point, doth infer, *Si papa est dominus totius orbis Christiani supremus, ergo singuli episcopi sunt principes temporales in oppidis suo episcopatui subjectis*[a]; 'If the pope be lord of all the

BOOK II.

[1] labour

[Mat. 28. 18.]

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[t] Dr. Mart. de Jurisd. Part I. c. 5. § 6. [See note FF.]

[u] Id. ib. c. 22. § 4, 5. [See note GG.]

[x] Id. Append. ad c. 22. [See note HH.]

[y] [The words from 'by reason' to 'mentioned' are introduced between the lines in the MS.]

[z] Id. ib. c. 22. § 6. [See note II.]

[a] Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. c. 3. [See note KK.]

BOOK II. Christian world, then it followeth that all particular bishops are temporal princes in the cities and towns subject to their bishopries.'

To the manifestation of all which the said Canonist his so absurd and gross assertions, before we proceed any further we hold it not unfit, for the reasons elsewhere specified by us, when we shewed that Christ was no temporal lord, nor had any temporal dominion after the manner of other kings, first to hear the cardinal, how he shaketh the very groundwork and foundation of all these vanities. For whereas his opposites would make St. Peter, and consequently the pope, his successor, to derive such their infinite power and temporal authority from Christ, after His resurrection, as He was then a man, immortal and glorious, having cast off His former infirmities and mortality; the cardinal is resolute to the contrary, and doth reason in this sort. *Christus, ut homo, dum in terris vixit, non accepit nec voluit ullum temporale dominium; summus autem pontifex Christi vicarius est, et Christum nobis repræsentat, qualis erat, dum hic inter homines viveret. Igitur summus pontifex, ut Christi vicarius, atque adeo ut summus pontifex est, nullum habet temporale dominium*[c]: 'Christ, as He was man and lived upon the earth, He neither did, nor would receive any temporal dominion; but the pope is Christ's vicar, and doth represent Christ unto us, in that estate and condition that He lived in here amongst men; therefore the pope, as Christ's vicar, and so as he is the highest bishop, hath no temporal dominion.' And again, *Dicimus, papam habere illud officium, quod habuit Christus, dum in terris inter homines humano more viveret. Neque enim pontifici possumus tribuere officia, quæ habet*[d] *Christus, ut Deus, vel ut Homo immortalis et gloriosus; sed solum ea, quæ habuit ut homo mortalis*: 'We say, that the pope hath that office that Christ had, when He lived in the earth amongst men, after the manner of men; for we cannot ascribe unto him those offices which Christ hath, as He is God, or as He is man, immortal and glorious, but only those which He had as a mortal man.' Neither doth he stay here, but goeth on forward, saying, 'Add, that the pope hath not

[c] Bellarm. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 4. [See note LL.]

[d] [habuit. *D.*]

all that power which Christ had as a mortal man. For He, because He was God and man, had a certain power, which is called a power of excellency, by the which He governed both faithful men and infidels; but the pope hath only committed unto him His sheep, that is, such persons as are faithful. Again, Christ had power to institute Sacraments, and to work miracles by His own authority; which things the pope cannot do. Also, Christ might absolve men from their sins, without the Sacraments, which the pope cannot.' BOOK II.

Nay, the cardinal was so far from believing that all power and worldly principality was left by Christ unto St. Peter, and so unto his successors, as he confesseth in effect that neither St. Peter, as he was bishop of Rome, nor any of his successors, can challenge to themselves[e] so much as a rural farm, or any other kind of temporal possessions, which have not been given unto them by the emperors and other temporal princes. And lest such gifts might be held by any to be unlawful, he, to prove the contrary, allegeth that they were godly princes who so endowed the church of Rome. These are his words: *Qui donaverunt episcopo Romano aliisque episcopis principatus temporales, pii homines fuerunt, et eâ de*
199 *causâ præcipuè à totâ Ecclesiâ commendati sunt; ut patet de Constantino, Carolo magno, et Ludovico ejus filio, qui inde Pius appellatus est*[f]: 'They who gave to the bishop of Rome, and other bishops, temporal principalities, were godly men, and for that cause especially were commended by the whole Church; as appeareth of Constantine, Charles the Great, and Lewis his son, who in that respect was called Lewis the Godly.' Again, 'That the pope holdeth in right that principality which he hath, may easily be perceived, *quia dono principum habuit*, because he had it by the gift of princes[g].' Of which gifts, he saith, the authentical instruments remain still in Rome; adding nevertheless, that if they had been lost, *abunde sufficeret præscriptio octingentorum annorum*[h]; 'that a prescription of eight hundred years were abundantly sufficient to prove the pope's right.' And unto these words

[e] [can challenge so much. *D.*]

[f] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 9. § Quarto, qui. [See note NN.]

[g] Id. ibid. § Jam vero. [See note OO.]

[h] Id. ibid. § Item Leo. [See note PP.]

BOOK II.

of Bernard[i], *forma apostolica hæc est; interdicitur dominatio, indicitur ministratio,* he answereth, that Bernard doth speak of the bishop of Rome *secundum id quod habet ex Christi institutione.* Also[k] Gregory the First, denouncing a curse against that bishop *qui jubet alicui agro more fiscali titulum imprimi,* who doth challenge to hold any possessions as an absolute temporal prince, in right of his church, the cardinal doth answer, 'that it is not to be marvelled that Gregory would not have bishops, nor the prefects of the patrimony of the church of Rome to use, *more fiscali,* in recovering the possessions of the church;' for, saith he, *Nondum habuerat Ecclesia politicum principatum, sed possidebat bona temporalia ad eum modum, quo privati homines possident. Itaque æquum erat ut agros, quos suos esse censebat Ecclesia, si forte ab aliis occuparentur, in judicio legitimo eos repeteret; non autem more fiscali propriâ sibi autoritate vendicaret;* that is, 'for as yet,' meaning when Gregory lived, which was six hundred years after Christ, 'the Church had no political principality, but did possess her temporal goods in the same manner whereby other private citizens possessed theirs. And therefore it was agreeable to equity, that if, perhaps, the possessions which the 20
Church supposed to be hers were occupied by other men, she was to require them, *judicio legitimo,* in a temporal court of the prince of whom the same were held; and might not challenge them to herself, by her own proper authority, *more fiscali,* as sovereign princes do, when their right is detained from them.' Lastly, the cardinal is so far driven by a worthy man[l] and some others of our side, who held it unlawful for the bishops of Rome, or any other bishops, to be absolute worldly princes, whosoever do bestow that sovereignty upon them, the same being directly against Christ's words, '*vos autem non sic,*' and for many other reasons, as he flieth to the times of the Maccabees, when the ordinances of God, as touching the High-Priesthood, were utterly neglected, and nothing, in effect, left in the Church but pride, presumption, blood and confusion, as we have declared in our First Book[m], and would gladly thereby uphold the pope's

[i] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 10. § Tertio objicit. [See note QQ.]

[k] Ibid. cap. 10. § Quarto objicit. [See also note QQ.]

[l] Calvin. Instit., lib. iv. cap. 11. [See note RR.]

[m] [Chap. xxxii. p. 58.]

regalities. These are his words: 'Although perhaps it were absolutely better that bishops should deal with spiritual matters, and kings with temporal; yet in respect of the malice of times, experience doth cry that some temporal principalities were not only profitable, but also of necessity; and by the singular providence of God given to the bishop of Rome and to other bishops. For if in Germany the bishops had not been princes, none had continued to this day in their seats[n].' As therefore in the Old Testament, 'the High-Priests were for a long time without temporal authority or empire, and yet in the later times religion could not have continued and been defended except the High-Priests had been kings (that is, in the time of the Maccabees;) so we see it hath fallen out to the Church, that she, which in her first times had no need of temporal principality to defend her majesty, doth now seem necessarily to have need of it.' As though he should have said, Now that the church of Rome hath in her pride and presumption, determined still to tyran-
201 nize over all, both kings[o], priests, kingdoms and churches, contrary to the rules and prescription of our Saviour Christ and of His blessed Apostles; the popes must needs be temporal kings.

Thus far we have followed the cardinal; who is bold to affirm that neither St. Peter, nor the popes, his pretended successors, nor any other of the Apostles, nor of their successors, archbishops, or bishops, nor any other minister, nor all the ministers in the world, if they were together, do succeed Christ, as He was after His resurrection or ascension, a man immortal and glorious; but only as He was a mortal man, and lived here in that estate upon the earth, without the enjoying of any temporal kingdom or regal possessions; contenting Himself to be only a spiritual king, and to have in this world a spiritual kingdom, that is, His Church, so termed, because he ruleth only in those mens' hearts which are true members of it; the Gospel also being named *Evangelium regni*, because it containeth the doctrine of our Messiah and spiritual King, and how He doth establish His spiritual kingdom in and amongst men. Of which [Mat. 4. 23; 24. 14, &c.]

[n] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 9. [o] [all kings. *D.*]
§ Denique probatur. [See note SS.]

BOOK II.

spiritual kingdom some little further consideration, and how our Saviour Christ obtained it, and then did and still doth govern it, will make the folly of those men more apparent, which cannot apprehend the excellency of it, except it have joined with it all worldly principalities and authority. None is ignorant, that hath any sense of Christianity, how all men by nature were the children of wrath; and how, before they

Eph. 2. 2. embraced Christ by faith, 'they walked according to the course of this world, and after the prince that ruleth in the air, even the spirit that still worketh in the children of dis-

Rom. 13. 12. obedience.' Which wicked spirit, being termed 'the spirit of darkness,' all his subjects and servants, and whatsoever

Eph. 5. 11. they take in hand, are called the 'children and works of darkness.' From whose service, had not our Saviour Christ delivered us, and by subduing and vanquishing this wicked prince, taken actually the possession of our hearts, where the 202 devil before reigned, we had been still in the state of wrath

Eph. 5. 8. and damnation. Whereas now 'through grace and by faith, Christ dwelling in our hearts, we are no more darkness, but

Gal. 5. 16, 22. light in the Lord:' nor are to hold any longer 'fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, or of the flesh; but are bound, being replenished with God's Holy Spirit, to bring forth the fruits and operations of the same.' To this vanquishment of Satan, by our Saviour Christ, these Scriptures

Lu. 11. 20] 22. &c. following have relation. 'If I, by the finger of God, do cast out devils, doubtless the kingdom of God is come unto you. When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, the things which he possesseth are in peace; but when a stronger than he cometh upon him, and overcometh him, he taketh from him all his armour, wherein he trusted, and divideth the

Joh. 12. 31. spoils.' Again; 'Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out.' And again;

Col. 1. 9, &c. 'We cease not to pray for you, &c. That you might walk worthy of the Lord, &c. Giving thanks to God the Father, &c. Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son, in Whom we have redemption through His blood.' Again;

Col. 2. 14, 15. 'Christ putting out the hand-writing of ordinances, that was against us, &c. He took it out of the way, and fastened it upon the cross, and hath spoiled the principalities and powers,

and hath made a shew of them openly, and hath triumphed over them in Himself.' And lastly, 'He that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning.' For 'this purpose appeared the Son of God, that He might loose the works of the devil.' BOOK II. 1 Joh. 3. 8.

Now our Saviour Christ did, by fulfilling the Law for us, and the sacrifice of Himself once offered upon the cross, vanquish both the devil, death, and hell; to the end, that 'as many as believed in Him, might not perish, but have life everlasting.' And therefore knowing faith to be the means of so unspeakable a benefit, He vouchsafed to be not 203 only our Priest, but our heavenly Prophet; labouring, by preaching and miracles, to beget faith in the hearts of His hearers, that, Satan being expelled thence, He Himself with His Father might abide and make Their mansion in them. To the performance of which most admirable work, how our Saviour Christ, being equal with His Father, became a servant for our sakes, as it was the will of God, whereunto, of His own accord, He conformed Himself, and what a poor estate He held whilst He was upon the earth; how He was born in poverty, lived in poverty, and died in poverty; how maliciously and scornfully He was oftentimes entreated; how as, when He spake the truth, His enemies said he 'blasphemed;' so, when He cast out devils, they told Him that 'He cast them out by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils;' how in the whole course of His life He was so far from being a temporal king, or having possession of any regal state, as He had not so much as an house of His own to rest His head in, but was glad to lodge now with one man and then with another, as the occasions and times served; and how in the end, He was content to satisfy the malice of His enemies, by submitting Himself for our sakes, unto the death of the cross, it were a needless labour for us to pursue; the Evangelists have so plainly set down all these particulars, and many more besides to that purpose. Likewise it shall be sufficient for us sparingly to recount how our Saviour Christ was not only content to preach and work miracles Himself, for the conversion of those that heard Him; but did to the same end, as well before His passion as after, authorize likewise His twelve Apostles and seventy disciples to preach and work [Joh. 3. 16.] [Phil. 2. 7.] [Mat. 9. 3; 26. 65. Mat. 12. 24.] [Mat. 8. 20.]

BOOK II.

strange miracles; and furthermore did ordain a succession of the ministry, for the increasing of this His kingdom unto the end of the world; Himself never forsaking His Church and ministers, but still assisting them in that their spiritual charge which He had committed unto them. For although that He Himself by His death and passion hath vanquished 204
Satan and ruleth in the hearts of the faithful, yet by reason of our infirmities and weakness of faith, and through the
[1 Pet. 5. 8.] malice of the devil, who never ceaseth, 'like a roaring lion to seek whom he may devour,' this spiritual kingdom of Christ is but now begun in us, and upheld in us by the most merciful hand of our Saviour Christ through the operation of the Holy Ghost and by the labour of the ministry; but in the end, through the virtue of Christ's passion shall be brought
1 Cor. 15. 54, &c. to pass that which is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the Law; but thanks be unto God, Which hath given us vic-
Rev. 20. 10, 14. tory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' And again, 'Death, hell and the devil shall be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.' In the mean while, and during the time of this our pilgrimage, we are, for the continuance of Christ's
[Eph. 3. 17.] 'dwelling in our hearts,' to follow the counsel and direction
Eph. 4. 27. of the Holy Ghost, that in no sort 'we give any place unto
Jas. 4. 7. the devil;' but that 'we resist him with all the force we are able, for in so doing he will fly from us.' And for our better resistance, that we might be able to stand against the assaults of Satan, we have a notable and a complete armour appointed us by the said Holy Spirit, which is agreeable to the nature of the enemies we have to fight with; for, saith
Eph. 6. 11, 12. the holy Apostle, 'we wrestle not against flesh and blood: but against principalities, against powers, and against worldly governors, the princes of darkness of this world; against spiritual wickednesses which are in the high places.'

And thus we have a brief and short idea of the spiritual kingdom of Christ; whereof, when the Apostles, after they were replenished with the Holy Ghost upon the day of Pentecost, had full understanding and notice, they never dreamed, for aught that appeareth to the contrary in the Scriptures, of any worldly pre-eminence or principalities;

who should sit here, and who should sit there; but con-
205 tented themselves with the same estate and condition of life that their Master had led before them; remembering how He had described the same unto them when He first sent them to preach amongst the Jews. 'Behold,' saith He unto them, 'I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. Beware of men; for they will deliver you up to the councils, and will scourge you in the synagogues. And ye shall be brought to the governors and kings, for My sake, in witness to them and to the Gentiles. And ye shall be hated of all men for My sake. When they persecute you in this city, fly into another. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household? Whosoever will be a perfect disciple, shall be as his master.' 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament, and the world shall rejoice.' 'The time shall come, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God service.' And as Christ did thus foretell them, so it came to pass. For no sooner did they begin to preach the Gospel, after the ascension of Christ, but they were whipped, scourged, cast into prison, bound with chains, and most cruelly entreated. St. Paul doth testify somewhat hereof, when writing in the name both of himself and of the rest of the Apostles and ministers, he saith thus; 'In all things we approve ourselves as the ministers of God; in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in prisons, in tumults, in labours; by watchings, by fastings, by long sufferings, by dishonour, by evil report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live.' Besides, that which he speaketh of his own particular condition, doth argue the estate and condition of his fellows; though one would have thought that little more could have been added to the barbarous cruelty last mentioned to have been executed upon them. For comparing himself and his pains, with certain false brethren that were crept into the Church amongst the
206 Apostles, and sought for their own commendation to impair the credit of this our Apostle, he writeth in this manner. 'They are ministers of Christ; I am more; in labours more

Mat. 10. 16, &c. [17, 18. 22, 23, 24, 25.]

Lu. 6. 40.

Joh. 16. 20.

Joh. 16. 2.

2 Cor. 6. 4, [—9.]

2 Cor. 11. 23. [—28.]

BOOK II.

abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteously. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes, save one; I was thrice beaten with rods, I was once stoned, I suffered thrice shipwreck, night and day have I been in the deep sea; in journeying I was often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine own nation, in perils amongst the Gentiles, in perils in [the] wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides these things which are outward, I am cumbered daily, and have the care of all the churches.'

Much is not written of St. Peter by the Evangelist St. Luke; but it is not to be doubted that his case was as bad as any of his fellows. When he began to preach he was called in question with great eagerness, and vehemently threatened; also, with some other of the Apostles, he was cast into prison and beaten. Likewise when James was killed by Herod's commandment, Peter was again imprisoned, and loaden with irons; and had assuredly, in all likelihood, escaped hardly with his life, but that the Angel of the Lord delivered him. In a word, after many afflictions, injuries, calamities and miseries, endured by the Apostles whilst they lived in this world, they were in the end, as well St. Peter as almost all the rest, most spitefully and cruelly, by the enemies of Christ and of their own salvation, put to death. During the course of whose lives, in so great dangers and manifold distresses, out of question they would greatly have marvelled, their hard estates considered, but especially St. Peter, if he had known himself to be the sole monarch, under Christ, over all the world, and that the emperor, and all other kings, had been at that time his vassals; and that likewise they, the rest of the Apostles, had been, under St. 207
Peter, so many sovereign and temporal princes, to have commanded and ruled amongst them throughout the whole world. Neither do we see any true cause that might have moved St. Peter to have concealed that his so eminent temporal power and authority, if he had thought it to have been the ordinance of God; or, at least, if he for modesty would have been silent, why the rest of the Apostles should

Acts 4. 21; 5. 18, 40.

Acts 12. 4.

not have published it, that the civil and temporal states in those times, who knew no such ordination made by Christ, might have been left inexcusable. Besides, the concealing of a truth of so great importance was an injury offered to all the faithful in those days, who, had they been truly taught in these men's conceits, ought to have left their obedience to the emperor in all temporal causes; and for the dignity of the Gospel, to have adhered unto St. Peter, to have been directed in them by him, their temporal monarch. The consideration of all which inconveniences and consequents doth persuade us to think that none of the Apostles ever dreamed of any such temporal sovereignty, notwithstanding that they knew well the Scriptures, how Christ told them that all power in heaven and earth was given unto him, how St. Peter had two swords, and how Ananias and Sapphira, for lying to the Holy Ghost, were stricken suddenly from heaven with death. BOOK II.

Touching the two first of which places, the same being notoriously abused and wrested by the Canonists and their adherents, to prove the pope's temporal monarchy, the said cardinal doth very resolutely reject the arguments which are thence by them deduced. And to the first he answereth; *Potestatem, de quâ hic loquitur Dominus, non esse potestatem temporalem, ut regnum terrenorum, sed vel tantùm spiritualem, ut B. Hieronymus et B. Anselmus exponunt, qui hunc esse*
208 *volunt sensum eorum verborum,—'Data est Mihi omnis potestas in cœlo, et in terrâ,'—id est, ut sicut in cœlo Rex sum Angelorum, ità per fidem regnem in cordibus hominum; vel, ut addit Theophylactus, esse potestatem quandam summam in omnes creaturas, non temporalem, sed divinam, vel divinæ simillimam, quæ non potest communicari homini mortali*[p]: 'That the power, whereof the Lord here speaketh, is not a temporal power, like the power of terrene kings; but it is either a spiritual power, as St. Hierome and St. Anselm do expound the said place, who will have this to be the sense of these words,—'All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth,'—which is to say, that as in heaven I am King of Angels, so by faith I do reign in the hearts of men; or as Theophylact addeth, it is a

[p] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 5. § Sed occurrunt. [See note TT.]

BOOK II.

certain supreme powers[q] over all creatures, not temporal but divine, or most like to the divine power, which cannot be communicated to any mortal man.

And for the second argument, drawn from St. Peter's two swords, the same is set down by our said cardinal in these words: *Secundo, objiciunt Scripturam, Luc. 22. ubi Dominus duos gladios Petro concedit. Cùm enim discipuli dicerent,—'Ecce, duo gladii hic;' Dominus non ait, 'Nimis est,' sed 'Satis est.' Quare B. Bernardus* l. 4. *de Consid., et Bonifacius Octavus in Extravag. Unam sanctam, de Majoritate et Obedientiâ, ex hoc loco deducunt, pontificem duos gladios ex Christi institutione habere*[r]; that is, 'Secondly, they object the Scripture, Luc. 22, where the Lord doth grant two swords to Peter. For when the disciples said,—'Behold, here are two swords,—the Lord answered not, 'They are too many,' but, 'They are sufficient.' Therefore St. Bernard, and Boniface the Eighth, do hence deduce, that the bishop of Rome by Christ's institution, hath two swords.' Unto which objection our cardinal saith thus: *Respondeo, ad literam nullam fieri mentionem in eo loco Evangelii de gladio spirituali vel temporali pontificis, sed solum Dominum illis verbis monere voluisse discipulos tempore passionis Suæ in iis angustiis et metu ipsos futuros fuisse, in quibus esse solent qui tunicam vendunt ut emant gladium; ut ex Theophylacto aliisque Patribus colligitur*[s]: 'I answer, that according to the letter, there is no mention made in that place of the Gospel, either of the spiritual or temporal sword of the bishop of Rome; but that Christ meant only in those words to admonish His disciples how they should be, in the time of His passion, in those straits and fear wherein men are accustomed to be, who sell their coat to buy them a sword, as it is to be collected out of Theophylact and other Fathers.' And for Bernard and Boniface he saith, 'They did expound the said place mystically, and meant not to have their words so far extended, as the objector would have them[t].' Which answer, it is likely Bernard, if he were now alive, would take in good part; but assuredly if any cardinal in Bonifacius his days had made it, he would have smarted for it, and might

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[q] [supreme power, not temporal. *D.*]
[r] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 5.
§ Secundo objiciunt. [See note UU.]
[s] [See note VV.]
[t] [See note WW.]

perhaps have tried the depth of Tiber. Neither do we suppose that the now pope will give him any great thanks for it; or that in all likelihood he hath received any greater commendation for his plain dealing in an answer to another objection, which is grounded upon the authority of pope Nicholas, who in an Epistle of his to Michael, the emperor of Constantinople, doth write thus; *Christus Beato Petro, vitæ æternæ clavigero, terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit*[u]: 'Christ did commit to St. Peter, the key-bearer of everlasting life, the right and interest both of the earthly and of the heavenly empire.' To which saying of pope Nicholas the cardinal maketh two answers: *Ad testimonium Nicolai dico, imprimis, illud citari à Gratiano d. 22. Can. Omnes; sed non inveniri inter epistolas Nicolai papæ*[x]: 'To the testimony of pope Nicholas, I answer, first, that the same is cited by Gratian, but it is not to be found amongst the epistles of pope Nicholas.' As if he should have said, that testimony is forged. And the effect of his second answer[y] is, 'that if any shall urge[z] that testimony of pope Nicholas in the sense ob-
210 jected, they make him directly repugnant to himself in the rest of the said epistle.'

And concerning the other argument by our said Canonist alleged, of the death of Ananias and Sapphira, the ancient Fathers in the primitive Church would certainly have scorned it, if ever they had heard of it. Peter, knowing by the instinct of the Holy Ghost that Satan had possessed both their hearts, and how they lied not to men, but to God, did only pronounce that sentence of death upon them which the Holy Spirit did suggest unto him. Wherein although there may appear what force the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, had, when it was brandished by St. Peter, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, there was assuredly no use of any material and civil sword; for if there had, another manner of form of outward justice would first have been held before they had been executed. And to conclude this point, we do freely profess that the nature of Christ His spiritual kingdom being throughly weighed, we cannot find

[Eph. 6. 17.]

[u] Bell. de Rom. Pont. ibid. § Ad testimonium. [See note XX.]

[x] [See note YY.]

[y] [See note ZZ.]

[z] ['if any man shall urge.' *D.*]

BOOK II.

to what purpose either St. Peter, or any of his successors, should have been made temporal monarchs over all the civil magistrates in the world; because all their temporal forces and swords joined together had not been able to have vanquished one wicked spirit of the air, or have opened the door of any one man's heart for Christ or the Holy Ghost to have entered and have made Their habitation in it.

CANON VIII.

If therefore any man shall affirm, under colour of any 211
thing that is in the Scriptures, either that our Saviour Christ hath otherwise committed the world to be governed under Him by kings and sovereign princes, but so as He Himself, with His regal sceptre, doth rule and govern them all, according to His divine pleasure; or, that it is not a sound argument that the bishops of Rome, in taking upon them to be temporal kings, have wholly perverted the institution of Christ in that behalf, in that they are driven to justify their facts therein by the examples of the Maccabees, and those times of so great confusion; or, that our Saviour Christ, whilst He was here upon the earth, did not fully content Himself to be only a spiritual King to rule in men's hearts; or, that to the end He might erect such a spiritual kingdom, He did not conquer the devil, sin, death, and hell, and thereby took possession in the hearts of all true believers; or, that before our Saviour Christ doth begin to reign in man's heart, He doth not first, by the ministry of His word, beget a lively faith in it; or, that whilst He lived here in the world, He did not 212
satisfy Himself, for our sakes, with a very mean and poor estate, being in Himself most rich, because He was God, and in His humanity, the heir of all things; or, that He did not institute and ordain a priesthood, or ministry, to continue till the end of the world, for the continuance and augmenting of His spiritual kingdom; or, that the children of God, notwithstanding that they are redeemed through faith by

Christ, and delivered out of the jaws of hell and Satan, are not still to take heed and beware of him, and to arm themselves accordingly against his forces; or, that our Saviour Christ, when He told His Apostles and disciples that the servant is not above his lord, but that whosoever would be a perfect disciple should be as his master, did not mean that His Apostles, and after them their successors, archbishops, bishops, and the rest of the ministry, should hold their services and offices under Him[a], to do as He did when He was a mortal Man of poor estate and subject to many bad usages and injuries; or, that because our Saviour Christ, after His resurrection and ascension, when He was become a Man immortal
213 and glorious, did then enlarge the commission of His Apostles, and ordained by them a succession of the ministry for the government of His Church, He did thereby make them any more partakers of His regal authority, whereof His human nature was then actually possessed[b], for the state and exercise thereof, by reason of the free and unrestrained operation of His Deity, than He made their natural and corruptible bodies incorrupt and spiritual bodies, or endowed them in this life with any of that glory, power, and heavenly estate, which they were to enjoy after their deaths and blessed resurrection; or, that the Apostles after Christ's death, not excepting St. Peter, did not find their estates in this world very suitable to their Master's, whilst He lived with them, all things happening unto them as He had foretold them; or, that either St. Peter, or any of the Apostles, or of their successors, either then, or since that time, could challenge so much as this or that one temporal farm, by virtue of their ecclesiastical functions, more than their Master had, or then either[c] they were themselves possessed with, as their own, before they were called to that ministration, or than was afterwards given unto
214 them by godly emperors, kings, and princes, and other devout

[a] [*Pro*, offices under Him, as He was a mortal Man, *lege*, offices under Him, to do as He did when He was &c. *Correction* in Overall's hand.]

[b] [*Pro*, was then possessed by reason of His Deity, *lege*, was then actually possessed for the state and exercise thereof, by reason of the free and unrestrained operation of His Deity. *Correction* in *D.* in Overall's handwriting.]

[c] [that either. *D.*]

BOOK II.

and religious persons; or, that if St. Peter had known himself to have been, under Christ, the sole temporal monarch of the world, it had not been his duty to have made the same known, at least to the Apostles and such as were converted to Christ, to the end they might have honoured him accordingly, as his dutiful and loyal subjects; or, that it had not in all probability, if St. Peter meant to shew himself to be a temporal king, by the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, been much more expedient for the success of the Gospel in those days if he had used such his regal authority against those civil magistrates which were enemies to Christ and to all that preached in His name; or, that it may be rightly imagined, with our dutiful regard of St. Peter's sincerity, that ever he would have been so earnest with the dispersed Jews, to have submitted themselves for the Lord's sake unto kings and other governors, to have obeyed them and honoured them, if he had known them to have had no temporal authority[d], because they did not acknowledge themselves to be his vassals; or, that it did not proceed from the great wisdom of God, to abridge in the Apostles of Christ, even in St. Peter himself, that great power and authority which Christ had, as appeareth by His words, when He said that if He had thought it fit, He could have twelve legions of Angels at His commandment, to have defended Him from all His enemies, the Scribes and Pharisees, with all their partakers, in that perhaps the Apostles, even St. Peter himself, might have abused it; or, that it is not more than probable that howsoever St. Peter would have used the said power and authority, if he had had it, if the bishops of Rome had received it from him, they would certainly have made great havoc and confusion in the world with it; or, that if all the kings and sovereign princes in the world had been subject to St. Peter and were thereupon in the like subjection to the bishops of Rome, they, both St. Peter and his successors, might not have had ready at their commandment, if kings and princes had done their duties, more than twelve legions, to have

[1 Pet. 2. 13.]

[Mat. 26. 53.]

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[d] [to have had temporal authority. *D.*]

confounded all men that should have disobeyed them; or, that therefore it is not as absurd an imagination and conceit for any man to think that Christ did give so great temporal authority either to St. Peter or any of his successors over temporal kings and princes, that they might have so great
216 armies, when they list, at their directions, as if any man should hold that because they are Christ's vicars they may have twelve legions from heaven to do them service, if perhaps temporal kings and princes should be negligent or refuse to be at such charges at their commandment; or, that it is not a kind of madness, the true nature of Christ's spiritual kingdom and Church here upon earth considered, for any man to conceive, and thereupon maintain, that any such omnipotency of temporal power in St. Peter ever was, or ever shall be, available to banquish the devil, or remove him out of his palace, or to spoil him of all his principalities, or to beget faith in the children of God, or to erect in their hearts a tabernacle for Christ and the Holy Ghost; which are only the peculiar and proper actions of our Saviour Christ, as He is our spiritual King, and of St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, with all their successors in their degrees, and as they are His spiritual ministers, he doth greatly err.

CHAP. X.

217

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That the bishops of Rome have no temporal authority indirectly, over kings and princes, throughout the Christian world, to depose them from their kingdoms for any cause whatsoever.

Because we have been bold to use the authority of the cardinalized Jesuit against the ridiculous Canonists, and their companions, the new sectaries of the Oratory-Congre-

BOOK II. gation, concerning the pope's temporal authority over all kings and princes in the world directly; we may not do him so much injury as once to pretend that he favoureth either us, or any point of truth, for our sakes, that we defend. It may rather be ascribed unto him for a singular virtue, his bringing up and course of life considered, if he study not to impugn it with all the strength that he hath, either of his wit or learning. Nevertheless, albeit he hath travelled exceedingly in his books *De Romano Pontifice*, to advance the papacy to his uttermost ability, and had no purpose therein, we are well assured, to give us any advantage, who do oppose ourselves against the whole drift of those his books; yet he hath so mustered and marshalled his matters and forces together, as whilst he endeavoured to fortify the pope's authority, and to encounter the assaults that have been made against it, he hath done more for us, against his will, to the prejudice of his master, whom he laboured to uphold, than we could ever have expected at his hands. Insomuch, as we are verily persuaded the time will come before it be long, that his works will be 218
thrust into the catalogue *Librorum prohibitorum*[e]; because, dealing with our arguments as he did in the said books *De Romano Pontifice*, and thinking that he would no further yield to the truth, by way of objection, than as he should be able sufficiently to refel it, it hath fallen out[f] with him, as it will ever do with all impostors, that the very meaning of the truth, according to the nature of it, hath, notwithstanding all his cunning, very much prevailed against him, to the everlasting glory of her own name, and forcible strength to discover errors, like to the sun's to expel darkness. We will not here otherwise make proof hereof, than, as by the matter we have in hand and are purposed to prosecute, we are after a sort urged and compelled. For albeit he hath hitherto seemed to have joined with us, as he hath indeed, more than now, we are persuaded, he doth well vouchsafe, yet foreseeing what tempests he was otherwise like to have endured, in affirming so peremptorily as he did, that the pope had no temporal authority at all, as he was either Christ's or St. Peter's vicar; he minced his matter in the titles of his

[e] [See note AAA.]

[f] [it hath often fallen out. *D.*]

chapters to that purpose with the word *directè*, whereof in his reasons he never made mention; and then falleth upon this issue, that *indirectè*, the pope hath authority over all emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, to hurry them hither and thither, to depose and remove them from their regal estates and dignities, to dispose of their kingdoms according to his own pleasure, to release their subjects of their oaths and obedience, and to thrust them into all rebellions, treasons, furies and what not, against them. In the which his course this is our comfort, that by direct dealing the cardinal did find no ways or means how to withstand the truth, but is driven by indirect shifts and by-paths to oppose his labours, we fear, *reclamante conscientiâ*, how, to save his own worldly credit he might cast a mist upon the truth, if not to depress it, which was not in his power, yet at the least to obscure it, to darken it and perplex it. 219

BOOK I.

Some of the principal reasons which he hath used to this purpose mentioned, are of this kind and consequence. '*Bona corporis*[g], the good things that do appertain to the body, as health especially, are to be preferred before *bona fortunæ*, as the philosophers call them, that is, riches and all other worldly dignities and preferments whatsoever; therefore the calling of physicians, the end whereof is the health of men's bodies, is to be preferred before all other temporal callings that are in the world. Or thus; natural parents, be they emperors, kings, or sovereign princes, do give unto their children their natural being only, but schoolmasters do adorn by instruction, and beautify their minds; therefore schoolmasters are more to be honoured by young lords and princes, than are their lords or kings, their natural parents. Or thus; one end why men were first created, and afterwards born, be they kings or princes, priests or private persons, was to live in this world; but for the supporting of men's lives, husbandry and many other occupations are of greater importance and necessity than are either kings, princes, lords, or civil magistracy; therefore those men's base callings are to be preferred before the callings of the other. Or, as if a man should reason thus; they that have the chiefest charge of souls committed unto them are to be esteemed as men in this

[g] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 6. [See note BBB.]

BOOK II.

world of the highest calling; but all Christians generally have every one of them a greater charge committed unto them of their own souls than any sort of priests or ministers have; therefore every Christian is in that respect, in calling and dignity, to be preferred before the calling of any one pastor, priest, prelate, or pope.' Now after he hath dallied with such like sophistications[h] and comparisons betwixt the body and the soul, the flesh and the spirit, he falleth upon some particulars, the more fully, as he saith, to express what he had formerly delivered. The sum of which particulars is[i], that although the pope, as he is pope, cannot *ordinariè*, ordinarily depose temporal princes, or make civil laws, or judge *de rebus temporalibus;* yet *in ordine ad spiritualia,* he may do them all. And this he taketh upon him to prove by five main reasons, grounded, God knoweth, upon very weak foundations. Of which his odd number, for the glory of them, this which followeth is the first[k]. 220

'Civil power is subject to spiritual power when they are both part of a Christian commonwealth; therefore the spiritual princes may command temporal princes, and dispose of their temporal affairs *in ordine ad bonum spirituale,* in order to a spiritual good.' The antecedent of which argument may briefly be refuted, for aught that he hath said to justify it, in manner as followeth. For in saying that this subjection of the temporal power to the spiritual is but where both these powers are part of one and the same Christian commonwealth, he maketh the estate of Christian kings and princes inferior and worse than the estate of those that be infidels, whose political power, being no part of any Christian commonwealth, is not subject to the ecclesiastical. Again, to prefer the ecclesiastical authority of the Church, for honour and dignity in this world, before the temporal authority of kings and princes, is, in effect, to prefer the poor and base estate of our Saviour Christ, as He was a mortal man here upon earth, subject to many wants, oppressions, and injuries, before the glory and majesty of His divine nature; in that kings have their authority and calling from Christ as He is God; whereas all ministers, even St. Peter himself, and conse-

[h] [such sophistications. *D.*] [See note CCC.]

[i] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 6. [k] Ibidem. cap. 7. [See note DDD.]

quently the pope, are but Christ's vicars and substitutes, as
221 He was man, subject to the said wants, miseries and oppressions. Moreover, in that every soul, by the testimony of St. Paul, is subject to the power and authority of temporal princes, and that they must so be, not 'because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake;' forasmuch as the points of subjection there specified are commanded to all men to be observed, *et sacerdotibus, et monachis, non solum sæcularibus*, 'to bishops and monks, and not to secular priests only,' as Chrysostom saith[l] by our interpretation, adding to these words of the Apostle, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' *Etiamsi Apostolus sis, si evangelista, si propheta, sive quisque tandem fueris*,—'although thou art an Apostle, or an evangelist, or a prophet, or whosoever thou art;'—and because, for aught we have read, none of the ancient Fathers do herein dissent from Chrysostom, we hold it to be very plain and evident to our understandings, that the ecclesiastical authority to be exercised in this world by any manner of ecclesiastical persons whosoever, is inferior and of a lower degree than is the authority and power of temporal kings and princes. For if the authority of such ecclesiastical persons, whether Apostles, evangelists, prophets, bishops, or priests, either regular or secular, cannot exempt them from the authority of kings, it must follow of necessity that it is subject and inferior to their temporal power and authority.

[Rom. 13. 1.]

Another of the cardinal's reasons, whereby he would gladly prove the pope's indirect temporal power, to omit the rest of his absurd trifling about the first, is built upon a very traiterous position, never heard of in the Church in the times of the principal ancient Fathers. For how earnest soever he seemed before in refuting their opinions who hold that no princes are to be obeyed if they be infidels, he thinketh he is able to shift off that in effect with his juggling and indi-
222 rect fetches. These are his traiterous words[m]: 'It is not lawful for Christians to tolerate a king, being an infidel or an heretic, if he endeavour to draw his subjects unto his heresy or infidelity; but to judge whether a king do draw his subjects

[l] Chrysost. Hom. in c. xiii. ad Rom. [See note EEE.]

[m] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. c. 7. [See note FFF.]

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to heresy or no, doth belong to the pope, unto whom is committed the charge of religion; and therefore it belongeth to the pope to judge whether a king is to be deposed or not.' Concerning the assumption of this argument, touching the presupposed charge of the pope in matters of religion over all the churches in the world, we shall have a fitter occasion to touch it, after a sort, in the next chapter; now we will only briefly handle the falsehood of his proposition, 'of the power of subjects over their sovereigns.' Where, after he hath abused a place of Deuteronomy, and spent some idle conceits of his own, he writeth in this sort: 'Although Christians in times past did not depose Nero, and Diocletian, and Julian the Apostata, and Valens the Arrian, and such like, *id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis;* it came to pass because Christians did then want temporal forces. For that otherwise they might lawfully so have done, appeareth by the Apostle, 1 Cor. vi. [1.] where he commandeth new judges of temporal causes to be appointed by Christians, that Christians might not be compelled to plead their cause before a judge that was a persecutor of Christ.' Upon which text the cardinal maketh this gloss; '*Sicut novi judices constitui potuerunt, ita et novi principes et reges propter eandem causam, si vires adfuissent;* as new judges might have been appointed, so might new princes and kings for the same cause, if the Christians then had been able, by reason of their forces, to have created to themselves such new kings and princes.' Thus the cardinal, who undoubtedly was brought into some hard strait, as else he would never have written in this sort. St. Peter and St. Paul lived and died under Nero, who was a persecutor; and shall we think that 223
St. Peter and St. Paul had taught the Christians in those days to have thrust Nero from his imperial seat by force of arms if they had been able? Certainly it is a blasphemous assertion, and worthy of as great a censure as if he had termed those holy men, in plain terms, dissembling traitors, or denied the Scriptures to have been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Again, he himself is not ignorant how grossly he lieth, even against his own conscience, in saying that it was for want of strength that the Christians in the days of the other persecuting emperors did not rebel

[Deut. 17. 15.]

against them, Tertullian[n] in express terms affirming the con- BOOK
trary; first, that they, the Christians in his time, wanted no
forces to have borne arms and endangered the whole empire;
and secondly, that it was far from their hearts so to do,
because they had been taught otherwise by the doctrine of
Christ in His holy Gospel. Besides, it is apparent that in
and about Tertullian's time, these four were bishops of
Rome; Victor, Zephyrinus, Calixtus, and Urbanus; so as
the cardinal doth in effect cast a great imputation upon
them of negligence or insincerity[o], that the Christians in
their days, wanting neither number nor strength to have
bridled their bad emperors, they, by their papal authority,
did not depose them. Dioclesian began his empire about
the year 288, during the time of whose government, Gaius,
Marcellinus, and Marcellus, were popes, when the number of
Christians was greatly increased throughout all the world;
and yet, for aught that appeareth to the contrary, no man
living, either pope, priest, or prelate, did so much as then
dream of this damnable doctrine. Julian the Apostata
began his reign about the year of Christ 360, and Valens
eight years after him; in whose times Liberius and Damasus
were bishops of Rome, which Damasus was a man that
224 wanted no courage; nevertheless we do not read that either
he or Liberius ever attempted to excommunicate or depose
either of those emperors, or that they held it lawful for them
so to have done. In the space of time betwixt Nero and
Damasus, the most principal men of all the ancient Fathers
lived, as Justinus Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus,
Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Jerom, and Au-
gustine; who never had learned, nor did in their times
teach it for sound doctrine, either that Christians had au-
thority to bear arms against their sovereigns, or that the
bishops of Rome might lawfully depose kings and princes,
either for heresy or for cruelty, and thrust their subjects, to
serve their turns, into such furious and rebellious courses.
So as it was great boldness for the cardinal of his own head
to broach so palpable an untruth, especially seeing it carrieth

[n] [See note GGG.]
[o] [Such is the reading of *D*, the MS. faultily reading 'sincerity.']

BOOK II. with it so many arguments to convince his want herein of all honesty, sincerity, and conscience.

But why should we be so earnest with the man? considering that although it be certain that neither St. Peter nor St. Paul, nor any of the said ancient Fathers or popes, ever thought it lawful to depose such emperors and kings as before we have spoken of, when they should be able, through the numbers and forces of Christians, so to do; yet the same did proceed in the most of them from their ignorance and want of learning. 'For,' saith he, 'that Christians, if they had been able, might so have done, is apparent by the Apostle's words, where it is plain that they had authority to make judges; and consequently, that if they had been able, they might have thrust the said wicked emperors from their thrones, and have made to themselves new kings of their own.' Assuredly the devil himself did never abuse any place of Scripture, for aught we remember, so palpably and grossly as the cardinal doth this; and therefore we will bestow no great pains to refute him. It shall be sufficient 225
briefly to observe that in the judgments of Jerom[p], Austin[q], Ambrose[r], and Chrysostome[s], the judges which here the Apostle speaketh of, were only such as might by way of arbitrement end such suits as arose amongst Christians in those days, and not such judges as by law and authority might have compelled them to have stood to their sentences; for that had been indeed to have encroached upon the authority of the civil magistrate, which was far from the Apostle's intent and meaning. 'And therefore,' saith Theodoret[t], '*Sciendum est*, &c. It is to be observed that these words of choosing arbiters do not repugn to those things which are written to the Romans. For here the Apostle doth not command Christians to resist the magistrates, but willeth them that are injured, not to use the magistrates;' meaning, that it was fitter for Christians to compound their causes and quarrels amongst themselves, rather than, to the dishonour of their profession, contend before such magistrates as were infidels, and were like enough to despise and contemn them

[p] [See note III.]
[q] [See note KKK.]
[r] [See note LLL.]
[s] [See note MMM.]
[t] Theodoret. in 1 Cor. vi. [See note NNN.]

because they could not better agree amongst themselves. And the cardinal's own doctor[u], commenting likewise upon this place, doth write in this sort, '*Sed videtur*, &c. But that which here is said by the Apostle doth seem to be contrary to that which St. Peter saith, Be subject to every human creature for God, whether to king as excelling, or to rulers as sent by Him. For it doth appertain to the authority of a prince to judge of his subjects, and therefore it is against the law of God to prohibit that a subject should submit himself to the judgment-seat of his prince, if he be an infidel. *Sed dicendum*, &c. But it is to be answered, that the Apostle doth not here forbid but that faithful men, living under princes that are infidels, may appear in their judicial seats, if they be called; for this were against the subjection which is due unto princes: but he forbiddeth that faithful men do not of their own accord voluntarily choose the judgment-seat of infidels.' But if these authorities will not serve, we will be bold to present against him the judgment of a whole college, first published in Rhemes[x], and then set out again the second time by the same college at Doway, approved in both places; at Rhemes by Petrus Remigius, Hubertus Morus, Johannes Lebesque, Guilelmus Balbus; and at Doway by Willelmus Estius, Barth. Petrus, Judocus Heylens; all of them great doctors of divinity in those places, and one a doctor of the canon law, vicar-general of the archbishoprick of Rhemes. The said college, writing upon these words, 'But brother with brother contendeth in judgment, and that before infidels,' saith thus[y]; 'To be given much to brabbling and litigiousness for every trifle, to spend a pound rather than lose a penny, the Apostle much reprehendeth in Christian men. For a Christian man to draw another to the judgment-seats and courts of heathen princes, which then only reigned, and not to suffer their controversies and quarrels to be taken up amongst themselves, brotherly and peaceable, was a great fault.' What the cardinal's friends will say of his perverting the Apostle's meaning with so desperate an exposition, we are uncertain; but of this we are sure, that the estate of that

1 Pet. 2. 13.

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[u] Aqu. in 1 Cor. vi. [See note OOO.]

[x] [See note PPP.]

[y] Rhem. Test. in 1 Cor. vi. 6. [See note QQQ.]

BOOK II. church must needs be very miserable that cannot be upheld without so apparent injury done to the Holy Ghost. Which observation we thought fit to make in this place, because he once having past the bounds of all modesty, or rather piety, is grown to that presumption and hardness of heart against the truth, as that he dareth to ground another of his reasons to prove that the pope hath authority indirectly to depose kings and princes, upon these words spoken to St. Peter, *Pasce oves Meas*, 'Feed My sheep.' Touching which words, because we have a fitter place to entreat, we will here be silent, and address ourselves to his fourth reason, as idle and 207
as false as any of the rest.

These are his words[z]. 'When kings and princes come to the Church that they may be made Christians, they are received *cum pacto expresso vel tacito*, with a condition expressed or implied, without any mention made of it, that they do submit their sceptres unto Christ, and do promise that they will keep and defend the faith of Christ, *etiam sub pœnâ regni perdendi*, even under pain of losing their kingdoms. Therefore, when they become heretics, or do hinder religion, they may be judged by the Church, and also deposed from their principality, and there shall be no injury done unto them if they be deposed.' For answer whereof, first we say that in all the forms of baptisms which hitherto have been published, we cannot learn that there was ever any such express covenant as the cardinal here mentioneth, required of any king when he came to be christened. Baptism is the entrance, ordained by Christ, into the Church, which is His spiritual kingdom; and agreeably to the nature of that kingdom, all who are thereby to enter into it, of what calling or condition soever they are, as well poor as rich, private persons as princes, are, according to the rules of baptism anciently practised[a] in all the particular churches in the world, for aught that is known to the contrary, either themselves in their own persons, or, if they be infants, by their sureties, to profess their belief in Christ, and to promise that they will forsake the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world with all covetous desires of the same, and carnal

[z] [See note RRR.] [a] [bapt'sm pra·tised, *D.*]

desires of the flesh; and that they constantly do believe God's holy word, and that they will keep His commandments. The wilful breach of any of which points, and perseverance in it without repentance, doth indeed deprive every Christian man,
228 of what calling soever he be, from the interest he had by his said profession and promise, when he was baptized to the spiritual kingdom of Christ in this life,—that is, from being a true and lively member of the Church and mystical body of Christ,—and from the kingdom of glory in the life to come. But that any man, by the breach of any promise made when he was baptized, should lose that which he gained not by his baptism; or that the Church did never receive any king or prince to baptism, but either upon condition in express terms, or by implication made either by himself, or by his Godfathers, that he would submit his sceptre unto Christ, that is, unto the bishop of Rome, as the cardinal's drift sheweth his meaning to be, and promise to keep and defend the faith of Christ under pain of the loss of his kingdom, is certainly a doctrine of devils, and was never heard of in the Church of Christ for many hundred years; but is utterly repugnant to the analogy of Scripture and to the true nature of Christian baptism. These secret intentions,—for, as we have said, there was never any form of baptism that contained any such express contract as the cardinal speaketh of,—mental reservations and hidden compacts, such as men were never taught in the primitive Church, nor ever dreamed of or suspected to be thrust into one of the holy Sacraments, may well become the impostors of Rome, but are altogether contrary to the meaning of Christ and of His holy Apostles, in whose days, he that believed was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, without any such juggling or snares laid to hazard and entangle men's temporal estates. There is nothing in the Gospel whereof men ought to be ashamed, or which will not abide the touchstone of truth if it be compared with the rest of the Scriptures, or that doth not promote the spiritual kingdom of Christ, it being called in that respect, *Evangelium regni*, 'the Gospel [Mat. i. 24. 14.]
229 of the kingdom.' Now whether this underhand bargaining be suitable or no with the sincerity of the Holy Ghost, or whether, if it had been known in the primitive Church that

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all men who would submit themselves to the doctrine of the Gospel and be baptized did thereby bind themselves to be subject and at the commandment of the bishop of Rome, for the time being, under pain to lose all their worldly estates, the knowledge thereof would not rather have hindered than either promoted or furthered the good success of the Gospel, no man is so simple but he may easily discern it. Assuredly the Grecians, who did so long oppose themselves against the authority which the bishops of Rome did challenge over all churches, were ignorant of this mystical point of baptism, and so were all the churches in the world for many ages; or else there would not have been so great stirs in the world about the continual usurpations and encroachments of the bishops of Rome, as are many ways testified by sundry ecclesiastical histories. But we insist too long upon this so ridiculous and impudent a fiction, and therefore will come to the cardinal his principal reason of the pope's said indirect temporal authority to toss kings and kingdoms up and down as he list.

'The ecclesiastical commonwealth,' saith he[b], 'must be perfect and sufficient of herself, in order to her own end; for such are all commonwealths that are well instituted: and therefore she ought to have all necessary power to the obtaining of her own end. But the power of using and disposing of temporal things is necessary to the spiritual end, because otherwise evil princes might, without punishment, nourish heretics and overthrow religion; and therefore the ecclesiastical commonwealth hath this power.' Hitherto the cardinal. The substance of whose argument is, that the Church of Christ cannot attain to her spiritual end except the bishop of Rome have authority to dispose of temporal kingdoms, and to punish kings by deposing them from their 230
crowns, if he hold it expedient. For the refutation of which vain and false assertion there are very many most direct and apparent arguments. We will only touch some few of them. Our Saviour Christ in His days, and the Apostles in their times, and the primitive churches for the space of three hundred years, brought the ecclesiastical commonwealth, as

[b] [See note 888.]

here it is termed, unto her spiritual end, as directly and fully as either the bishops of Rome or any other bishops have at any time done since; and yet they took no power and authority upon them, nor did challenge the same, of disposing of temporal kingdoms or deposing of princes. Besides, if such an indirect temporal power be so necessary in these days for the upholding of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, as that without the same she cannot attain the spiritual end, or be a perfect ecclesiastical commonwealth, when there are so many Christian kings and princes, then was the same much more necessary for the attainment of the same end, in the said times of Christ, of His Apostles, and of the churches in the ages following for three hundred years, when the civil magistrates were pagans and infidels, and for the most part, persecutors of the truth. But we hope we may be bold without offence to say, that there appeared then no such necessity of this pretended temporal power and authority in any ecclesiastical persons over kings and kingdoms, for the disposing of them; and that nevertheless, the ecclesiastical commonwealth in those times did attain her spiritual end, and was as perfect an ecclesiastical commonwealth as it is now under the pope's government, notwithstanding all his temporal sovereignty wherein he so ruffleth. Again, we are persuaded that it cannot be shewed out of any of the ancient Fathers, or by any general council, for the space of above five hundred years after Christ, that the
231 bishops of Rome were ever imagined to have such temporal authority to depose kings as now is maintained; much less was it ever dreamed of during that time that such authority was necessary for the attaining the spiritual end whereunto the true Church of Christ ought to aim; or that the ecclesiastical commonwealth ordained by Christ and His Apostles could not be perfect without it. It were a miserable shift if any should either say that during all the times above mentioned, first the Apostles and then the holy bishops, martyrs, and Fathers after them, were ignorant of this new temporal power, or at least did not so throughly consider of the necessity of it as they might have done; or that whilst they lived there could indeed no such matter be collected out of the Scriptures, for that in those days

BOOK II. the Scriptures had not received such a sense and meaning as might support the same, but that afterward, when the bishops of Rome did think it necessary to challenge to themselves such temporal authority over both kings and kingdoms, the sense and meaning of the Scripture was altered. But be this shift never so wretched or miserable, yet, for aught we perceive, they are in effect, and still will be, both in this cause and many others, driven unto it; the Scriptures being in their hands a very rule of lead and nose of wax, as in another more fit place we shall have occasion to shew. Moreover, if the bishops of Rome have this great temporal authority over kings and sovereign princes, to preserve the state of the Church here upon earth, that she may attain her spiritual end, assuredly he hath made little use of it to that purpose. For it is well known, and cannot be denied, that for the first three hundred years after Christ, the doctrine of the Gospel did flourish far and near, in Greece, Thracia, Sclavonia, Hungary, Asia Minor, Syria, Assyria, Egypt, and throughout the most part of Afric, where there were many very worthy apostolical and notable churches; in the most of which places there are scarce in these days any 202
footsteps or visible monuments of them. And although afterward, during the space of above seven hundred years, much mischief was wrought in these parts of the world better known unto us than the rest, by sundry sorts of Scythians and northern people; yet after the days of Gregory the Seventh, when the bishops of Rome did most vaunt of this their sovereign power over kings and princes, the Turks gained and encroached more upon Christendom, still retaining that which they then had so gotten, than at any time before. Whereby it is to us very evident, that neither Christ nor His Apostles ever ordained that the means of building of the Church of Christ and the conservation of it should consist in the temporal power or authority of any of their successors, to deprive emperors or kings from their imperial or regal estates; and that the bishops of Rome may be ashamed that, having had so great authority in their own hands, extorted from the emperors and other kings, *per fas et nefas*, since Gregory the Seventh's time, they have made no better use of it, but suffered so many famous

countries and kingdoms to be utterly overrun and wasted by pagans and infidels; considering that they pretend themselves to have so great authority for no other purpose but only the preservation of the Church, that she might not be prevented of her spiritual end. But what should we speak of the shame of Rome, whose forehead hath been so long since hardened? or ever imagine that Almighty God either did, or will bless her usurpations and insolencies against emperors, kings, and princes, for any good to His Church, other than must accrue unto her through her persecutions and afflictions? For it were no greater labour to make it most apparent by very many histories, if we would insist upon it, that the bishops of Rome, in striving first to get, and then to uphold, after their scrambling manner, this their wicked and
233 usurped authority of troubling and vexing Christian kingdoms and states with their manifold oppressions and quarrels, have been some special means whereupon the Saracens, Turks, and pagans, have wrought and by degrees brought so great a part of Christendom under their slavery as now they are possessed of. For it is but an idle and a vain pretence that the preservation of as much of Christendom as is yet free from the Turk and paganism is to be ascribed to the bishop of Rome and his authority, that so the Catholic Church might attain her spiritual end, which ought to be the planting of churches and conservation of them; it being most manifest to as many as have any wit, experience and sound judgment, that as the very situation of the said countries which now pagans enjoy, made them very subject unto the incursion and invasions of Saracens and Turks, God Himself, for His own glory, having His finger and just operation therein; so through His most merciful goodness and care of His Church, He blessed the situation of the rest of Christendom, being now free in that respect from those kind of violences, and endowed the hearts of Christian kings and princes with such courage and constancy, in defence of Christianity and of their kingdoms, as notwithstanding that the popes did greatly vex them in the meanwhile, they did mightily repel the forces of their enemies and most religiously uphold and maintain the profession of Christ; so as the preservation of the Gospel in these parts of the world

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may more truly be attributed to the working of the Spirit of God in them than to the bishops of Rome, who have been the chief authors and occasions of many incredible mischiefs.

Now lastly, and for conclusion of this point, had not Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders so inveigled and seduced the hearts and minds of the adherents to the see of Rome, as that by degrees they, leaving the love of the truth, are therefore 'given over by God unto such strong delusions, that they should believe lies,' as the Apostle speaketh, amongst many other of the gross errors maintained by them we might marvel at this, that ever they durst take upon them, in these times of so great light, to write and defend it with such resolution and confidence that the ecclesiastical commonwealth, as they term it, cannot be perfect, nor attain her spiritual end, except the pope may have the said temporal power and authority to depose kings; considering how far the true nature of the Church, which is the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and the true means and armour that Christ, our spiritual King, hath indeed ordained and appointed for the edification and defence of this His spiritual kingdom, and for the attainment of the supernatural and right end and beauty of it, are repugnant to these their carnal and worldly conceits. Touching the true nature of the Church and spiritual kingdom of Christ, we have before spoken; and the true spiritual end of the Church being, by teaching the ways of truth, to bring as many as possibly she can[c], to the knowledge of their salvation, through Christ, so as by faith they may become true members of His spiritual kingdom in this life, and of His heavenly kingdom in the life to come[d], the means ordained for that purpose do contain the full duty and office of all bishops and ecclesiastical ministers, who are furnished by Christ neither with temporal swords nor imperial authority to depose kings and sovereign princes, but ought to carry themselves towards all men, especially towards kings and princes, if they be either pagans or enemies to religion, as Christ Himself and his Apostles did, by preaching and praying for them, by humility and patience to endure whatsoever punishment shall be thought fit to be imposed upon them for

2 Thess. 2. 10, 11.

[c] [they can. *D.*]

[d] [members of His spiritual kingdom in the life to come. *D.*]

doing of their duties, and never to intermit such their pains
235 and diligence, to the end that if it please God to bless those their ministerial so great labours, their auditors of all sorts, private persons, kings and princes, may be brought to the knowledge of the truth, that so Satan being expelled out of their hearts, Christ by faith may reign in them. To the effecting of which so great and so divine an alteration and change in men's souls, there is no worldly force nor temporal sword which will serve the turn. And therefore the Apostle, speaking of this matter, doth write in this sort, 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal;' as if he should have said, We do not come with troops of men to promote the spiritual kingdom of Christ, but with weapons of another nature, with the glad tidings of the Gospel, with the doctrine of salvation to all believers, and with the furniture of the Holy Ghost: which weapons are not weak, but mighty through God, and able to cast down holds, that is, all the carnal forces of men, all principalities and powers that shall presume to rise up against Christ. And through the assurance and experience which both St. Paul and the rest of the Apostles had in the force of these weapons, he further saith, that 'with them they overthrew councils, and every high thing that did exalt itself against the knowledge of God, and that they brought into captivity all imagination (or understanding,) to the obedience of Christ.' Away then with the pope's carnal weapons, and with all their illusions and jugglings that seek to uphold them; for such weapons were never ordained by Christ for His apostolical warfare.

2 Cor. 10. 4, &c.

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And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures, either that the external callings in this world of those men, as ministers and schoolmasters, that have to deal with the information of men's minds and souls, are superior and to be preferred in honour and worldly dignities before the callings of kings and sovereign princes; or, that because health is better and more to be desired in this life than any worldly preferments, therefore the calling of

BOOK II. physicians, who are ordained for the health of men's bodies, ought to be superior to all other worldly callings; or, that the regal and political power of a king, when it is part of a Christian commonwealth, is thereby brought into greater servitude and thraldom than is the regal and political state of ethnic princes when the same are no parts of a Christian kingdom; or, that to prefer the ecclesiastical state for worldly authority before the state of kings and sovereign princes, is not, in effect, to prefer the humbled estate of Christ, as He was man, living here upon the earth, before His glorious estate after His ascension and before the glory and majesty of His divine nature; or, that any ecclesiastical authority, which the Apostles ordained, did either free them, or any of their successors, from subjection to kings and princes, and to their temporal authority; or, that St. Peter, being an Apostle, and so subject to the civil sword of temporal authority, could lawfully, by any indirect device, challenge any temporal power and dominion over kings and princes, for that had been to have extorted the temporal sword out of their hands to whom it appertained, and to have incurred again the commination of his master when He told him how all that take the sword shall perish with the sword; or, that it is not a most profane impiety, tending altogether to the discredit of the Scriptures, for any man to hold that St. Peter and St. Paul had so instructed the Christians in their times as that they knew, if they had been able, they might without offence to God have deposed Nero from his empire; or, that the Christians in Tertullian's time, when they professed that notwithstanding their numbers and forces were so great as they had been able to have distressed very greatly the estate of the emperors, being then persecutors, they might not so do, because Christ their master had taught them otherwise, ought not to be a sufficient warrant for all true Christians to detest those men in these days and for ever hereafter, who contrary to the example of the said Christians in the primitive Church and the doctrine of Christ which was then taught them, do endeavour to persuade them, when they shall have sufficient forces, to rebel

against such kings and emperors at the pope's commandment and to thrust them from their kingdoms and empires; or, that this devilish doctrine of animating subjects to rebellion, when they are able, against their sovereigns, either for their cruelty, heresy, or apostacy, was ever taught in the Church of Christ by any of the ancient Fathers above mentioned during the reigns of Diocletian, or Julian the Apostata, or Valens the Arian, or of any other the wicked emperors before them; or, that it is not a wicked perverting of the Apostle's words to the Corinthians, touching their choice of arbitrators to end dissensions amongst themselves, rather than draw their brethren before judges that were infidels, to infer thereof either that St.
239 Paul intended thereby to impeach in any sort the authority of the civil magistrates, as if he had meant they should have chosen such judges as by civil authority might otherwise have bound them than by their own consents to have stood to their awards, or to authorize Christian subjects, when they are able, to thrust their lawful sovereigns from their regal seats and to choose unto themselves new kings in their places; or, that any of the said ancient Fathers or godly learned men, for many hundred years after Christ, did ever so grossly and irreligiously expound the said place of the Apostle as our cardinalized Jesuit hath done; or, that it can be collected out of the Scriptures that either Christ, or any of His Apostles, did at any time preach or teach that they who meant to be baptized must receive that Sacrament upon condition that if at any time afterward they should not be obedient to St. Peter, for his time, and to his successors, they were to lose and be deprived of all their temporal estates and possessions; or, that it can be proved, either out of the Scriptures or by any of the said ancient Fathers, or shewed in any ancient form of administration of baptism, that ever there was any such cove-
240 nant made by any such faithful persons when they were baptized, or required of them to be made by any that baptized them; or, that if such a covenant were by Christ's ordinance to be made in baptism, it ought not to be made as well by farmers, by gentlemen possessed of manors and by lords of

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greater revenues and possessions, as by kings and sovereign princes; or, that it were not an absurd imagination to think that Christ and His Apostles did only mean that emperors, kings, and sovereign princes should be received to baptism upon the said condition; or, that all Christian men ought not to judge that the eleven Apostles, if they had known of any such bargain or condition in baptism, would have dealt as lawfully with the Church and in the behalf of St. Peter, in preaching and teaching the same, as now our cardinal and other such like persons of the Roman strain do by their writing, publishing, and maintaining of it in the behalf of the bishops of Rome: or, that either Christ or His Apostles, knowing that baptism ought to be received with such a condition, did think it convenient that the same should be concealed not only whilst they lived but for many hundred years afterwards until the bishops of Rome should be grown to such a head and strength as that they might, without fear of any inconveniencies, make the whole Christian world acquainted with it; or, that it is not an idle conceit for any man to maintain that the renunciation of the effects of baptism doth deprive men of their temporal lands and possessions which they did not hold by any force of baptism, or make them subject in that behalf to the deprivation of the bishops of Rome; or, that apostasy from Christ, put on in baptism, doth any further extend itself than to the souls of such apostatas in this life, in that the devil hath got again the possession of them, and so depriveth them in this world of all the comfort and hope they had in Christ, leading them on to the bane both of their bodies and souls in the life to come; or, that any ecclesiastical person hath any other lawful means to reclaim wicked, heretical, or apostated kings from their impiety, heresy, and apostasy, than Christ and His Apostles did ordain to be used, for the winning of men at the first to embrace the Gospel; or, that Christ Himself, whilst He lived, did attempt, either directly or indirectly, to depose the emperor by whose authority He was Himself put to death, as holding that the Church could not attain to her spiritual end except He had so done; or, that by the death of

Christ, the Church did not attain to her spiritual end without the deposition of any emperors or kings from their regal estates; or, that ever the Apostles in their days, either preached or writ that the ecclesiastical commonwealth could not be perfect except St. Peter, for his time, and after him the bishops of Rome, should have temporal power and authority to depose emperors and kings, that the Church might attain her spiritual end; or, that the Church in their days did not attain to her spiritual end, although no such authority was then either challenged or put in practice; or, that the Church could have attained to that her spiritual end in the Apostles' times if the said temporal power and authority had been then necessary for the attaining of it; or, that our Saviour Christ and His Apostles did propound a spiritual end unto His Church, and left no other necessary means for the obtaining of it than such as could not be put in practice either in their days or for many hundred years after; or, that the churches of Christ, after the
213 Apostles' times, for the space of three hundred years, being wonderfully oppressed with sundry persecutions, did not attain to their spiritual end without this dreamed of temporal authority of deposing kings and emperors, then their mortal enemies, not in respect of themselves but of the doctrine of salvation which they taught to their subjects; or, that this new doctrine of the necessity that the bishops of Rome should have temporal authority, either directly or indirectly, to depose emperors and kings for any cause whatsoever, or that else the Church of Christ should not be able to attain to her spiritual end, was ever heard of, for aught that appeareth, for many hundreds of years after the Apostles' times, either in any ecclesiastical history or in any of the ancient Fathers by us above mentioned; or, that the bishops of Rome with all their adherents whilst they would make the world believe that the Church of Christ cannot attain her spiritual end except they have temporal authority, indirectly to depose for some causes, emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, are more learned now than either the ancient Fathers or the Apostles themselves were, and that
214 they know the sense of the Scriptures better than either they.

BOOK II. the said ancient Fathers, did, or the Apostles that writ them; who, for aught that was known for many hundred years, never preached, taught, or intended to have any such doctrine collected out of their writings and works: or, that it may without great impiety be once imagined that if such a necessary point of doctrine concerning the said great temporal power in the pope over princes, as without the which the Church of Christ could not attain her spiritual end, had been known to the Apostles and ancient Fathers, they would not have been as careful and zealous to have preached and divulged the same unto all posterity, as now the bishops of Rome and their adherents are; or, that we ought not rather to believe that the bishops of Rome and their adherents, through their forsaking the love of the truth, are given over by God unto those strong illusions that they should believe lies and maintain them as stiffly as though they were true, than once to conceive that the holy Apostles and ancient Fathers were either ignorant of this supposed temporal authority to depose kings and princes, for the end so often mentioned, or thought it fit to dissemble it, or to write of it so darkly as for many hundred years it could not be understood; or, that God hath not wonderfully blinded the hearts and understandings, both of the popes and of all their adherents in this particular matter, amongst many others, in that the nature of the Church and spiritual kingdom of Christ considered, they dare presume to maintain it so confidently, that the said spiritual kingdom of Christ cannot attain to her spiritual end without the bishop of Rome his temporal authority, indirectly in some cases to depose kings and sovereign princes; or, that the true spiritual end of the Church consisting in this, that the devil being banished out of the hearts of all her true members, Christ may retain His possession of them through their faith and diligence to repel Satan, who daily laboureth to regain to himself his own possession, it is not more than a kind of frenzy to hold and maintain that any temporal authority, managed by the pope or by his commandment, against kings and princes, hath any force or power to work or procure this spiritual end, either by expelling or re-

pelling of Satan, or to nourish faith, or to continue the reign- BOOK
246 ing of Christ in any men's hearts; or, that it is not an im- I.
pious and a profane assertion for any man to defend that the weapons and armour of this spiritual warfare, undertaken by Christ and His Apostles, and by all godly bishops and true priests and ministers of the Gospel, are not sufficient of themselves to procure to the Church her spiritual end, without the pope's carnal weapons or temporal authority to depose kings, when to him, with the assistance of his cardinals, it shall seem expedient, he doth greatly err.

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247 ## CHAP. XI.

THE SUM OF THE CHAPTER FOLLOWING.

That there is no more necessity of one visible head of the Catholic Church, than of one visible monarch over all the world.

In the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth chapters of our first book we have shewed at large that our Saviour Christ, the Son of God, having created the world and taken upon Him to be the Redeemer of mankind, after their transgression through Adam's fall, did not only, as He was the Son of God, govern all the world, the same being in that respect but one universal kingdom, and appoint several kings and sovereign princes, as His substitutes, to rule the same under Him in their several countries and kingdoms, leaving no one emperor or temporal monarch to govern them all; but likewise, as He was the blessed Lamb, slain from the beginning of the [Rev. 13. 8.] world, He did, for His own glory and our endless comfort, erect for Himself, in this world, a spiritual kingdom called His Church, consisting of such men, dispersed throughout the world, as did profess His name; and being Himself the only Head and Governor of it, in which respect it is rightly to be termed but one Catholic Church, did appoint no one priest over the whole Catholic Church, but several priests and ecclesiastical ministers, to rule and govern the particular churches in every province, country, and nation.

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And in such manner and form as our Saviour Christ did rule and govern His universal kingdom and Catholic Church, before His Incarnation, so doth He still rule and govern the same, notwithstanding any of those vain pretences and ridi- 248
culous usurpations which the bishops of Rome, or any of their adherents, are able to allege and maintain to the contrary.

In the gloss of one of the books of the canon law[e] not long since printed and approved by Gregory the Thirteenth, a glossographer and now an authentical canonist, doth write in this sort: *Dico quod potestas spiritualis debet dominari omni creaturæ humanæ:* 'I say, that the spiritual power ought to domineer over every human creature.' And why saith he so? Forsooth, *per rationes quas Hostiensis inducit in Summa;* 'for certain causes and reasons, which Hostiensis, another canonist, doth allege in his Sum.' But he stayeth not there; he hath another motive, which he setteth down thus: *Item, quia Christus, etc.;* 'Also, because Jesus Christ, the Son of God, when He was in the world, and also from everlasting, was the natural Lord, and by the natural law He might have given sentences against the emperor, and any other whatsoever, of deposition and damnation, and any other sentences; *utpote in personas quas creaverat, et donis naturalibus et gratuitis dotaverat, et etiam conservabat;* 'as against persons whom He had created and endowed with natural and free gifts, and also whom He did preserve;' *et eadem ratione vicarius Ejus potest;* 'and, by one and the same reason,' saith he, 'His vicar may so do.' What? would pope Gregory, by his canonists, make men to believe that all emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, are persons of the pope's creation? or that he doth bestow on them freely, any gifts or benefits of nature? or that their preservation doth depend upon his good favour and providence? But the idle canonist his wit doth serve him no better than to make, in effect, this fond collection; Christ, the Creator of all things, doth govern, rule, dispose, and preserve all His own creatures; therefore the pope must likewise govern, rule, dispose, and preserve them all, though he created none of them. And why must he so do? he wanteth not a very substantial reason 249

[e] Extravag., lib. i. cap. 1. de Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. [See note TTT.]

that moved him so to collect, which followeth in his own words: *Nam non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse ut cum reverentiâ Ejus loquar, nisi unicum post Se talem vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia posset. Fuit autem iste vicarius Ejus Petrus. Et idem dicendum est de successoribus Petri; cum eadem absurditas sequeretur, si post mortem Petri humanam naturam à Se creatam sine regimine unius personæ reliquisset:* 'For Christ should not have been thought a person of sufficient discretion, that with His reverence I may so speak, except He had left behind Him one such vicar, who might do all these things. And this was His vicar Peter. And the same is to be said of the successors of Peter; seeing the same absurdity would follow if, after Peter's death, He had left mankind, created by Himself, without the regiment of one person.' And Mr. Harding[f], one of our countrymen, doth wholly concur with this profound canonist; saving that he dealeth more civilly with Christ, in using the word 'providence' instead of the canonist's 'discretion.' Thus he writeth: 'Except we should wickedly grant that God's providence doth lack to His Church, reason may soon induce us to believe that to one man, the chief and highest of all bishops, the successor of Peter, the rule and government of the Church, by God, hath been deferred.' And he further doth express his opinion to this effect: 'that if God had not ordained such a monarchical church-government, He should have brought in amongst His faithful people that unruly confusion and destruction of all commonwealths, so much abhorred of princes, which the Grecians call an anarchy; which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all.'

That our Saviour Christ is the sole governor, head, and archbishop of His Catholic Church, as He is the only governor, ruler, and monarch over all the world; and that His discretion and divine providence is no more to be blemished or impeached by the cavils of any impostors, in that He hath appointed no one priest, archbishop, or pope, to be His vicar-general over the whole Catholic Church, than for that He hath not assigned any one king, emperor, or monarch to rule the whole world under Him, this is the point that here we purpose to make good; taking it in this place

[f] Harding's Confut. of Jucl's Apol. § 19. [See note UUU.]

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for granted that there was never any one man in the world, to whom our Saviour Christ did commit the government of it, after the time that it was peopled and throughly inhabited, that is, from Noah's flood at the least hitherto. They that labour to prove that the bishop of Rome is head of the universal Church, and that Christ should have shewed little discretion or providence if He had not so ordained it, do insist very much upon the grounds of natural reasons and philosophy, telling us[g], out of Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Isocrates, Stobæus, Hesiodus, Euripides, Homer, Herodotus, and divers others, that of all the kinds of governments which are, the monarchical government is the best[h], 'that in a great host, consisting of soldiers of divers nations and countries, and perhaps of many sovereign princes and kings, there must be one general to govern them all; that all things naturally have a propension and aptness to monarchical government; that bees of every hive have their king; that in every flock of sheep there is a principal ram; that every herd of cattle hath a leader; that cranes do not fly promiscuously and in heaps, but have one whom they do all very orderly follow; that amongst the celestial spheres there is but one *primum mobile*; that in the number of the lights of the world one is greater than the rest; that there is a certain principality in the elements; that the fountain is but one, from whence divers times there flow sundry streams; that into one sea all rivers do run and return; that the thing which is most one, is less easily divided; that it is rather one, which is simply one, than a 251
multitude conspiring in one[i];' and that for these and many other like reasons, seeing the monarchical government is best, and that we may be sure that Christ would have His Church governed by the best manner of government,—except we should think Him to have dealt absurdly, as a person void both of good discretion and providence,—it therefore followeth that Christ committed the government of it unto one, first to St. Peter and then to his successor, the bishop of Rome for the time being. If this our Jesuit and his fellows, would upon the said philosophical premises have concluded

[g] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. i. cap. 2. [See note WWW.]
[See note VVV.]
[h] Sand. de Visib. Monarch., lib. iii. [See note XXX.]
[i] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. i. cap. 9.

thus, that it therefore had followed that Christ Himself doth not only retain in His own hands the sole government of His Catholic Church, as He is the only Redeemer of it, but likewise the sole government of the whole world, as He is the Creator of it; the conclusion had been true, although the premises had not enforced it. But how stiffly soever they mean to insist upon the said conclusion, without any regard of truth, so they may blear the eyes of the simpler sort with such their vain illusions, we may be bold, as we hope, resolutely to defend and maintain it, that the said natural reasons are of as great strength to prove that there ought of necessity to be one temporal monarch over all the world as one ecclesiastical monarch over the whole Catholic Church; although in very deed they are far too feeble and weak to prove either the one or the other. For who knoweth not that when the philosophers did write in commendation of the monarchical government, they only had relation to particular nations and countries; endeavouring to prove that it was better for them severally to be ruled by that form of government which is called monarchical, than by any of the rest, aristocratical, democratical, or any other? And it was so far from their meaning to have their said reasons wrested
252 to prove that one mortal man ought to have [the] government of the Catholic Church, the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as they never dreamed, for aught that appeareth, that one man, in their judgment, was fit or able to take upon him the temporal government of the whole world; to which purpose a principal lawyer amongst our adversaries doth write in this sort: *Natura ipsa institutum non est quod universus orbis uni principi subditus sit*[k]: 'It is not ordained by nature that the whole world should be subject to one prince.' If then it be an idle vanity for any man to go about by natural reason to prove that one man ought to be the temporal monarch of all the world, which nature herself did never intend; it is then certainly a kind of madness or frenzy to rely upon such proofs for the pope's spiritual authority over the whole Catholic Church; neither of them both being comprehensible or subject to the apprehensions of nature.

Again, these patrons for the pope and his primacy over the

[k] Covarruvias 2. part. Relect. § 9. tom. i. num. 5. [See note YYY.]

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[Cant. 6. 4.]
[Cant. 7. 1. Vulg.]
[Dan. 2. 37.]
[Joh. 4. 1.]
[1 Tim. 3. 4.]
[1 Pet. 3. 20.]
[Eph. 4. 5.]
[1] more

[l] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. i. cap. 2. [See note ZZZ.]
[m] Idem, ibid. cap. 9. [See note 1 A.]

to an house, and to a ship; so Christ only is intended thereby to be her only General, her only Head, her only King, her only Shepherd, her only Housholder, and her only Pilot. Neither can any other thing be inforced from the words mentioned of one faith and one baptism, but that as we are only justified through a lively faith in Christ, so there is but one baptism ordained, whereby we have our first entrance into His spiritual kingdom and are made particular members of His Catholic Church. Besides, in the like sense that the Catholic Church is resembled to an host well ordered, to a
254 human body, to a kingdom, to a flock, to an house, to a ship, so may the universal kingdom of Christ over the whole world, as He is the Creator of it, be resembled to them all, and the aforesaid titles respectively attributed unto Him. The whole world is as an host, under Him, well ordered, and He is the General of it. The whole world is but as one body whereof He is the Head, being the life of all men, from Whom, as from their Head, they have their sense, understanding, and motion. The whole universal world is but His kingdom, and He is the King of it, ruling and disposing it as seemeth best to His divine wisdom. The whole world is with Him but one flock and He is the Shepherd of it, all men in it being the sheep of His pasture, to whom He giveth food and sustentation in due season. Also He ordereth all the affairs in the world, as a good Housholder doth order and direct all the businesses and troubles appertaining to His family. Likewise the whole world may aptly be compared to a ship, in that the state of all mankind, living in it, is subject, as a ship on the sea, unto all manner of contrary winds, tempests, and storms; of which ship were not Christ, as He is the Creator of the world, the only Pilot, the world could not subsist. And as the Catholic Church is resembled to a fold, which containeth in it all that believe in Christ, so may the universal kingdom of Christ over all the world be compared to a fold, in that it containeth in it all mankind generally, His heavenly care and providence evermore protecting them.

Moreover, as there is but one Catholic Church, one Head or spiritual Ruler of it, Christ our Redeemer, one Christian faith, one baptism, one Gospel, one truth, one and the selfsame form or nature of all the several theological virtues, and

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one inheritance, which are all of them to be taught, embraced, and expected by all that are true members of the Catholic Church; so there is but one universal kingdom in all the 255
world, the Creator of it being the sole emperor and governor of it, one moral faith, one nature of truth to be observed amongst all, one rule and nature of justice, one moral law, one nature of equity, one kind, form, or nature of all the several virtues, both moral and intellectual, which are to be put in practice, as occasion requireth, in this one empire, by as many as expect from Christ, their Emperor, any happy success in their worldly affairs. But as all these unities in the temporal monarchy of Christ are no sufficient grounds to warrant this assertion that there ought to be one temporal king or emperor under Christ to govern the whole world, so the aforesaid spiritual and ecclesiastical unities are not able to establish or uphold this inference, that one pope must of necessity have the government under Christ of the whole Catholic Church. Also from the authority of Scripture, that God made all mankind of one Adam, to signify that He would have all men to depend upon one, why may it not as well be collected that He meant that all the men in the world should depend upon one emperor for causes temporal, as upon one pope in causes ecclesiastical? Likewise it is a very absurd conceit that our Jesuit maintaineth, when he saith that although Christ be the Head of the Church, yet He ought to have one underneath Him by whom she may be governed; as a king, when he is present, may govern his kingdom himself, and when he is absent, appoint his viceroy. Of likelihood this fellow would persuade us that Christ is sometimes absent from His Church, to the end that the pope might be His grand deputy; for otherwise, by his own example, Christ may govern the Catholic Church without the pope, as the king, ruling himself in his own kingdom, needeth no viceroy. That Christ is never absent from His Church, but doth by His power, grace, and virtue of the Holy Ghost, still defend and protect it, it is plain by His own words, where 256
Mat. 28. 20. He saith, 'Lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world.' It is true that He told His Apostles, that 'He was to depart from them,' meaning that they must be deprived of His corporal presence; but did He signify unto them that for

their comfort He would leave St. Peter in His place, and after him the bishops of Rome, St. Peter's successors, to govern His Church to the end of the world? No such matter. These are our Saviour Christ His words: 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you.' Joh. 16. 7. Again; 'When He is come, Which is the Spirit of truth, He will lead you into all truth.' Joh. 16. 13. Again; 'I will pray to My Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth.' Joh. 14. 16, 17. Again; 'The Comforter, Which is the Holy Ghost, Whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things.' Joh. 14. 26. And again; 'I will not leave you comfortless, but I will come unto you.' Joh. 14. 18. Which He doth continually when He upholdeth His Church daily against Satan and all that do malign it. So, as we may far more rightly and safely term the Holy Ghost to be Christ's vicar-general over all the Catholic Church, than we may ascribe that title to the pope; the Holy Ghost being ever present and ready not only to defend the Church generally, but to aid and comfort every particular member of it, wheresoever they are dispersed upon the face of the earth, which we suppose the pope is not able to perform.

We have before laboured to make it manifest that our Saviour Christ is the Creator of the world, and the Governor of it; that He hath redeemed and sanctified to Himself His Church, whereof He is the sole monarch; that He hath neither appointed any one emperor under Him to govern the whole world, nor any one priest or archbishop to rule the whole Catholic Church; that as in respect of Christ, the
257 Creator, all the world is but one kingdom, whereof He is the only king, so in respect of Christ our Redeemer, all that believe in His name, wheresoever they are dispersed, are but one Catholic Church, and that the said one Catholic Church is not otherwise visible in this world than is the said one universal kingdom of Christ, the Creator of it; viz. by the several and distinct parts of them, as by this or that national church, by this or that temporal kingdom. For our Saviour Christ having made the external government of His Catholic Church suitable to the government of His universal monarchy

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And we cannot but wonder as well at our said Jesuit, where he saith that although there be but one and proper 258
head of the Church, which is Christ, that governeth the same spiritually, yet she hath need of one visible head, or otherwise the bishops of Rome, and all other bishops, pastors, doctors, and ministers, were needless; as likewise that our countryman Harding, who saith, as is above noted, that if God had not deferred to one man, that is, to Peter and his successors, the rule and government of the Church, He should have brought amongst His faithful people that unruly confusion which is called an anarchy. For, were these their vain conceits and imaginations true, then would it by the same reason follow that albeit there be but one and proper monarch over all the world, which is Christ that created it, yet the same hath need of one visible monarch, or otherwise emperors and all other kings, princes, and civil magistrates, were needless; or otherwise Christ should have left amongst His people throughout the world, that unruly

confusion and destruction of all commonwealths so much abhorred of princes, which the Grecians call an anarchy, which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all. The fondness of which two consequents do so plainly argue the folly and falsehood of the two former, as we need no other refutation of them. For if all Christian kingdoms and sovereign princes would banish the pope, with his usurped authority, as the monarchy of Britany[1] hath done, and retain under them the apostolical form of church-government by archbishops and bishops, with other degrees of ministers, as before we have divers times specified, they should find the churches in their several dominions as well governed by them, the said archbishops and bishops, without one pope to rule the whole Catholic Church, as they have experience of the sufficiency of their own regal and sovereign form of government in their several kingdoms and
259 countries, notwithstanding there be no one monarch over all the world to command or direct them. And for an example not to be controlled, to make this good that here we affirm, we leave unto them God's own form both of temporal and ecclesiastical government, established by Himself amongst His Own people the Jews. Nay, why should we doubt but that kings and sovereign princes, notwithstanding the mists and darkness wherewith the bishops of Rome have daily sought to dim their eyes, have had long since a glimpse of this light and truth? About four hundred and some odd years since, in the latter end of the reign of Henry the Second, and in the days of Richard the First, both of them kings of England, first Baldwin and then Hubertus, being archbishops of Canterbury, there was a mighty controversy betwixt them and the bishops of Rome, about the erecting of a new cathedral church in Lambeth; the said kings and archbishops having a resolution utterly to banish out of this kingdom the pope's authority, if the monks of Canterbury in their allegation to pope Celestine, against the said cathedral church, did inform him truly. These are their words as they are recorded by Reginaldus, one of the said monks, as it seemeth, then living, who hath written a whole book about that matter. *In tantum enim jam opus processit quod ibi ordinatur decanus, prepositus, et plusquam quadraginta canonici,*

[1] [' Britain]

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de bonis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ fundati, genere nobiles, divitiis affluentes, cognati regum et pontificum. Quidam ipsi regi adhærent, quidam fisci negotia administrantes, familiares episcopis et iisdem confœderati. Adversus tantos et tales quid poterit ecclesia Cantuariensis? Certè timendum est non solùm Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sed, quod Deus avertat, ne hujus rei occasione sedis apostolicæ autoritati in partibus Anglicanis derogetur. Quùm enim fundaretur canonica illa, vox erat omnium, sententia singulorum, ut ibi essent episcopi quasi cardinales, archiepiscopus sederet quasi papa, et ibi omnis appellatio subsisteret et querela. Hoc quidem rex Henricus machi- 260
nabatur, approbant quamplures episcopi; hâc de causâ, ut dictum est, ut possent desub jugo sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ colla excutere[n]: 'Now the building of the said church is so far forward that there is ordained there a dean, a provost, and more than forty canons, founded of the goods of the church of Canterbury, by birth noblemen, abounding in wealth, allies of the kings and of the bishops. Some of them do adhere to the king, some have offices in the exchequer, all of them familiar friends to the bishops and of a confederacy with them. Against such and so great persons what is the church of Canterbury able to do? Certainly it is to be feared, not only that the church of Canterbury shall hereby be overthrown, but that upon this occasion the authority of the apostolical see, which God forbid, shall in England be greatly diminished and prejudiced. For when this canonry or cathedral church was founded, it was the common fame, and the opinion of every man, that it was founded to this end, that bishops should be there as it were cardinals, and that the archbishop should sit amongst them as pope, and that there all appeals and complaints should be determined. This assuredly was plotted by king Henry, and the same very many bishops do allow, for this cause or end, that so they might deliver their necks from under the yoke of the holy church of Rome.'

Again, after the death of Celestin the Fourth, the cardinals being at so great dissention amongst themselves as that they could not agree for the space of a year and nine months who should succeed him, both the emperor and the French

[n] Reginaldi Epistola de temp. Baldwini, p. 98. col. 1. [See note 4 B.]

were greatly moved and offended therewith. The emperor, finding his advice unto them to hasten their choice, to be despised and scorned, and how dishonestly some of them had broken their promises and oaths unto him made in that behalf, he gathered a great host and dealt sharply with
261 them. And from France they received a message that if they continued to dally, as they did, in prolonging the choice of a new pope, they would utterly leave Rome and choose to themselves a pope of their own, to govern the churches on this side of the Alps. Hereof Matthew Paris writeth thus: *Per idem tempus miserunt Franci solennes nuncios ad curiam Romanam, significantes persuadendo præcisè et efficaciter, ut ipsi cardinales papam ritè eligentes universali ecclesiæ solatium pastorale maturiùs providerent; vel ipsi Franci propter negligentiam eorum de sibi eligendo et providendo summo pontifice citra montes, cui obedire tenerentur, quantocius contrectarent*[o]: 'About that time the state of France did send their solemn messengers to the court of Rome, signifying unto them and persuading them precisely and effectually, that either the cardinals should more speedily provide for the universal Church her pastoral comfort, by their due choice of a new pope, or else they themselves, the French, because of their negligence, would forthwith fall into deliberation of choosing and providing for themselves a pope on this side the mountains, whom they might be bound to obey.' Thus the said history. Whereby, as also by the former words of the monks of Canterbury, it is very evident that both England and France long since were in deliberation to have abandoned the authority of the bishops of Rome out of both those kingdoms, as finding no necessity of the universal overswaying power of the Roman papacy; and that the churches within their several countries and territories might receive as great benefit and comfort by the ecclesiastical government of their own archbishops, in every respect, as ever they had done from the bishops of Rome. For as it may truly be said, not of one king to govern all the world, but of every particular king in his own kingdom; so may it be truly affirmed, not of one pope to govern the whole Catholic Church, but of every
262 archbishop in any national church and province, to rule and

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[o] Matt. Paris ad annum 1243. [See note 4 C.]

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direct the same, that under the government of one, viz. of kings for temporal causes, and of archbishops for ecclesiastical causes, there is the best order, the greatest strength, the most stability for continuance, and the easiest manner and form of ruling.

We have spoken hitherto of the government of the Church, especially as it was in the Apostles' times, and afterwards, for the space of three hundred years, when the civil magistrates were enemies unto it. Whereby we do infer that if the particular churches, settled then almost in every country and nation throughout the world, had so good success when there were no Christian magistrates, nor had any assistance of the temporal sword for the strengthening of their ecclesiastical government, but only ministers to teach and direct their parishioners in the ways of godliness; and bishops over them in every diocese, to oversee and rule as well the ministers as the several people committed to their charge, that they taught no new doctrine or ran into schisms; and archbishops over them all, in every national church and province, for the moderating and appeasing of such oppositions and dissensions as might otherwise have risen amongst the bishops, and so consequently have wrought great distraction betwixt their diocesan churches; how much more then are the said particular churches like to flourish and prosper under such a form of ecclesiastical government wherein the Christian magistrate is become to be, as the chief member of the church, so the chief governor of it; to keep as well the said archbishops within their bounds and limits, as all the rest of the clergy, and Christians, bishops, ministers, and parishioners, that every one, in their several places, may execute and discharge their distinct offices and duties which are committed unto them.

We shall have fit occasion hereafter to speak of the au- 263
thority of Christian princes in causes ecclesiastical; here we do only still prosecute the government of the Church when temporal kings and princes were her great and mortal enemies, and the folly, if not the obstinacy of our adversaries, who either see it not or will not acknowledge it, that peace and quietness may as well be preserved in all the churches in the world by archbishops and bishops, without one pope

to govern them all, as by kings and sovereign princes in all the kingdoms and temporal governments in the world, without one temporal monarch to rule and oversway them. For our adversaries shall never be able to prove that it may be ascribed, as we have before said, more to any want of discretion and due providence in our Saviour Christ, that He hath not appointed the pope to govern the Catholic Church, than that He hath not assigned the government of the whole world to one king or emperor. Rather it is to be attributed to their audacious temerity and presumption that will either enforce our Saviour Christ to be contented with that form of government in His Church which they think good to assign unto Him, and so make Him to divide stakes, as the phrase is, with the bishops of Rome, or else to be reputed amongst them for a person of little discretion and providence, and to have dealt absurdly in ordering and settling the external government of His Church as He had ordered and settled the external government of His universal kingdom over all the kings and princes in the world. Which profane, wicked, and blasphemous proceedings with Christ, will, no doubt, in short time receive an heavy judgment, in that, although the man of sin hath long wrought in a mystery and taken upon him for his time, and so every one of his successors during their lives, 'to sit in the temple of God,' vaunting that the [2 Thes. 2. 4.]
234 said temporal or spiritual kingdom of Christ is wholly at his command, yet now he beginneth to be revealed and disclosed to be that impostor that by the assistance of Satan hath with power and signs and lying wonders, in all deceivableness and unrighteousness, long abused the Christian world, and is consequently to be consumed by our Saviour Christ with the spirit of His mouth. In the meanwhile, and till this work be throughly effected, we are not to censure Christ either for His discretion or divine providence, but indeed to admire and magnify them both: considering that by His government, both of the universal world as He is the Son of God, and of His Catholic Church as He is the Redeemer of it, in such manner and form as we have before expressed, by several kings and priests within their kingdoms, provinces, and dioceses, He hath left unto them certain general rules and motives, which, being diligently observed, do tend to the uni-

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versal good and preservation both of the one and the other, though they have no assistance therein from the bishops of Rome. For as it is an apt and good reason to persuade all kings and kingdoms to live quietly with their neighbour princes and nations, and to be at a firm league and friendship with them, because they have all but one heavenly King, are members and subjects of one universal kingdom, have, or ought to have, but one moral faith, one rule of justice, one square for equity, one nature of truth, one moral law, one kind, form, and nature, of all the several virtues, both moral and intellectual, one natural instinct, to know God and to worship Him, and one form and rule of mutual love and affection; so the particular churches dispersed over the world, when they had small comfort from the civil magistrate, held themselves bound to have a special care one over another, that matters of religion might proceed by one rule, with mutual agreement and uniformity, 265
for avoiding of schisms; in that they well knew they had all but one Redeemer and Saviour, one heavenly spiritual King or Archbishop, were all of them members of one mystical Body, whereof Christ was the Head, had all of them but one faith, one baptism, one spiritual food, one hope, one bond of charity, one redemption, and one everlasting inheritance in the life to come. Which were such arguments of mutual consociation in those days, as when any great matters of importance did fall out in any one country, through the wilfulness and obstinacy of heretics and crafty seducers of the people, which perhaps were countenanced with some of strength and greater power than could easily be withstood, their neighbour churches adjoining did sometimes assist them by their letters with the best counsel they could give them, and sometimes did send some especial learned men unto them for the better suppressing of those evils; and sometimes, when occasions fell out thereunto moving, sundry archbishops and bishops of several countries, with other learned priests and persons of principal note, did, as they might for fear of danger, meet together, and upon due and mature deliberation did so order and determine of matters as thereby heresies and contentions were still suppressed, and the churches in those countries received great

comfort and quietness. And if in those troublesome times the peace of the Church were thus preserved, how much more now under Christian magistrates may it be strengthened, upheld, and maintained, without the pope; not only within their several kingdoms, but likewise, throughout, in effect, all these western parts of the world, if Christian kings and sovereign princes would agree together for a general council, to the end that all those heresies, errors, impostures,
266 and presumptions, wherewith the Church of Christ hath been long, and is now miserably shaken and disturbed, might be at the last utterly suppressed and extinguished?

Many other means might here be alleged to shew how the state of Christian religion is to be upheld and maintained without any assistance from the bishop of Rome. But our purpose being in this place to resemble and compare the government of the Catholic Church with the universal government of the Son of God over the whole world, we hold it sufficient to observe that every national church may as well subsist of herself without one universal bishop, as every kingdom may do without one general monarch. Nevertheless we acknowledge that in this particular tractate we have been very tedious, and [it] may be thought perhaps by some that our pains therein is altogether superfluous, because many of our adversaries do, in effect, acknowledge that there is the like necessity of one emperor to govern all the world, as there is of one pope to have the oversight and ordering of the whole Catholic Church. Indeed, upon the sifting of the usurped authority of the bishops of Rome, our adversaries finding that by their arguments to bolster up his said authority, the erection of one man to govern the world in temporal causes is as necessarily to be inforced as of one pope to govern the whole Church in ecclesiastical causes, they are grown to this most admirable insolency and most high presumption as that they dare affirm and do take upon them without all modesty to maintain it, that the pope is both the monarch of the Catholic Church and the emperor of all the world. Which mystery of theirs is thus managed, and by piecemeal unfolded after this sort, viz. that to ease the pope, lest he might be oppressed with multitude of affairs if he should take upon him, in his own person, to govern the

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Catholic Church, they do assign unto him power and authority to create and delegate under him, as his feudatory or vassal, this one supposed emperor, to whom, they say, he may commit the especial execution of his temporal sword, to be drawn and put up at his direction and commandment. And for this one base emperor over all the world, many[p] are now as busy as others are to maintain the pope's supremacy over the whole Catholic Church. Now to prove that the pope hath universal dominion over all the world *temporaliter*, temporally, and likewise sufficient power to institute and appoint one emperor under him, as his substitute, to rule the whole world, they use this argument: *Summus pontifex instituit ac confirmat imperatorem, sed imperator habet dominium universale temporaliter in toto mundo; ergo et papa habet hoc idem dominium temporaliter:* 'The bishop of Rome doth ordain and confirm the emperor, but the emperor hath universal dominion temporally in the whole world; therefore the pope hath the very same temporal dominion.' And about ten years since one Andrew Hoy, the Greek professor at Doway, made an oration, *De novæ apud Europæos monarchiæ pro tempore utilitate;* taking upon him to prove that the king of Spain was the fittest person of all the kings and princes in Europe to be advanced unto this great monarchy.

But what should we trouble ourselves with this point? The king of Spain, we suppose, will greatly scorn to be the pope's vassal; and the emperor that now is or that shall succeed him hereafter, as likewise all the kings and princes in the world, may see most evidently how grossly and shamefully they are abused and how notably they neglect the greatness of their own callings; especially they who have been heretofore or shall be hereafter emperors, in that they do inter- 268
meddle any thing at all with the pope or receive from him either their confirmation or coronation, in that thereby he presumeth most ridiculously and without any shew of truth, to challenge them for his servants and vassals. It hath been before shewed by the judgment of the cardinalized Jesuit, that the bishops of Rome have no temporal possessions at all but such as they have received from the emperor and other

[p] Dr. Marta de Jurisd. par. 1. c. 20. Carerius. [See note 4 D.]

kings and sovereign princes. In consideration whereof, seeing that now they insult so notably over them all, both princes, kings, and emperors, being so far from acknowledging themselves to be the emperor's subjects, or to hold their said possessions either of him or of any king that bestowed them upon them, we do verily think that the said princes, kings, and emperors, who have been so beneficial to the said bishops, shall never shew themselves to be of that princely magnanimity and prowess which their high places do require, nor free their sceptres from the thraldom and base subjection to their usurped authority, until either they take from them what before they gave them, or bring them to a more dutiful acknowledgment of their duties unto them. And what we say of the popes we likewise do hold concerning all the clergy besides in Europe, or elsewhere; that if they shall either withdraw themselves from their subjection unto their temporal soverèigns under whom they live, or deny to hold the possessions of their several churches of their said sovereigns, or to do them homage for the same, they may lawfully, in our judgments, not only resume the said possessions into their own hands but likewise proceed against them as rebels and traitors, according to the form of their several laws. But this is a digression. For in the beginning of this chapter we undertook to deal with those only who, though they maintain the pope's general supremacy over the Catholic Church, yet they deny, upon many weighty reasons, that God did ever ordain any one emperor to govern all the world. But how long they will deny it we know not, in that the principal Jesuit himself writeth thus: *Utrum expediret omnes provincias mundi, etc.*[q]: 'Whether it were expedient that all the provinces in the world should be governed by one chief king in things politic, although the same be not necessary, it may be a question;' *mihi tamen omnino expedire videtur, si possit eò perveniri sine injustitiâ et bellicis cladibus;* 'yet it seemeth to me expedient, if such a monarchical government over all the world might be gotten without injustice and such calamities and miseries as usually follow war.' What this Jesuit doth incline unto, it is hereby evident; but in that he confesseth that such a monarchical civil government is not necessary,

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[q] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. i. cap. 9. § Utrum. [See note 1 E.]

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that is enough for our purpose; because thereby it likewise followeth, as before we have shewed, that the government of the pope over the whole Church is, in every respect, as little necessary.

CANON X.

And therefore if any man shall affirm, under colour of any thing that is in the Scriptures or that can be truly grounded upon natural reason or philosophy, that our Saviour Christ should have shewed Himself to have had no discretion except He had left one chief bishop to have governed all the churches in the world; or, that except He had appointed one to the said end, He should, as a person void of providence, have left His faithful people in a miserable confusion and without any government at all; or, that any of all the arguments that may be deduced from philosophy and natural reason, to prove that one man ought to have the government of the whole Catholic Church in spiritual causes, are not as forcible to prove that one king or emperor ought to have the rule and government over the whole world in causes temporal; or, that any of the philosophers ever meant to have their reasons, alleged by them to prove that in every particular country the monarchical form of temporal government was the best, to be extended to prove that there ought to be either one bishop over all the Catholic Church, whereof they had no knowledge, or one emperor over all the world; or, that, because all men have their beginning from Adam, it doth not as well follow that there ought to be one emperor to govern all the world, as one bishop over the whole Catholic Church; or, that Aaron was any more a figure of St. Peter and his successors, that they severally in their times should govern the whole Church, than king David was of Augustus the emperor and his successors, that they severally in their times should have committed unto them the government of the whole world; or, that the resemblances in the Scriptures, of the Church unto an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a

fold, to a house, to a ship, may not fitly be applied as well to the universal kingdom of Christ over all the world as unto the Church, and so consequently as well to our Saviour Christ as He is the Governor of the whole world,
272 that He is the General of that host, the Head of that body, the King of that kingdom, the Shepherd of that flock, the Householder of that family, and the Pilot of that ship, as may these titles be ascribed unto Him as He is the only Archbishop of the whole Church, viz. that He is the only General of this host, the only Head of this body, the only King of this kingdom, the only Shepherd of this flock, the only Householder of this family, and the only Pilot of this ship; or, that the said unities concerning the universal kingdom of Christ are not of as great validity to prove that there ought to be one temporal king under Him to govern His universal kingdom over all the world, as are the other unities touching the Church, to prove that there must be one bishop under Him to govern all the particular churches in the world; or, that, because kings when they have occasion to be absent from their kingdoms, do commonly appoint some viceroy to rule their people until their return, it thereupon followeth that Christ, supplying His corporal absence from His spiritual kingdom the Church, by the comfortable presence of the Holy
273 Ghost, was of necessity to leave one carnal man to be His vicar-general over His said spiritual kingdom; or, that seeing our Saviour Christ held it expedient for His Catholic Church that He should deprive her of His corporal presence that she might be ruled by the Holy Ghost, it is not to be thought great presumption for any man to tell us that his corporal presence is necessary for the government of the said Catholic Church, as if he meant to put the Holy Ghost out of possession; or, that either the said one universal kingdom of Christ, the King and Creator of it, is otherwise visible upon the earth than by the particular kingdoms and several kinds of governments in it, and perhaps in a sort and by representation, when some neighbour kings, either in person or by their ambassadors, may be met together for the good of their

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several kingdoms; or, that the said one Catholic Church of Christ, as He is the chief Bishop over all, is otherwise visible on the earth than by the several and particular churches in it, and sometimes by general and free councils lawfully assembled; or, that it is a better consequent that if the Ca- 271
tholic Church have no visible head, all other bishops, doctors, pastors, and ministers are needless, than if one should say, because there is no one king to govern all the world, therefore there is no use of emperors, kings, and sovereign princes or civil magistrates; or, that it doth more follow that Christ should have left His faithful people in a confused anarchy except He had left St. Peter and his successors to govern the whole Church, than it doth that the whole world hath been left by Him in a confusion, without any government in it, in that He hath not left one universal emperor; or, that the intolerable pride of the bishop of Rome, for the time still being, through the advancement of himself by many sleights, stratagems, and false miracles, over the Catholic Church, the temple of God, as if he were God Himself, doth not argue him plainly to be the Man of Sin, mentioned by the Apostle; or, that every national church, planted according to the Apostle's platform, may not, by the means which Christ hath ordained, as well subsist of itself without one universal bishop, as every 272
kingdom may do under the government of their several kings without one general monarch, he doth greatly err.

CONCERNING THE

GOVERNMENT OF GOD'S CATHOLIC CHURCH,

AND THE

KINGDOMS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

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BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER FIRST.

BOOK III.

[a]In pursuing our intended course throughout the Old Testament and until the destruction of Jerusalem, we overslipt and passed by the fulness of that time wherein the Son of God, the Maker and Governor of all the world, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. So as now we are to return back to and prosecute our said course as we find the true grounds thereof laid down, confirmed, and practised in the New Testament. At our entrance into which course we confess ourselves to be indeed greatly astonished, considering the strange impediments and mighty stumbling-blocks, which, through long practice and incredible ambition, are cast in our way, [b]in that we find the estate of that church, which would rule over all, to be degenerated in our days as far in effect from her primary and apostolical institution and rules, as we have shewed before, the estate of the Jewish church to have swerved through the like pride and ambition from that excellent condition wherein she was first established and after-

[a] [A line in red chalk has been drawn through the whole of this chapter in the Durham MS. as if for obliteration, and a hand, apparently Overall's, has inserted in the margin these words: 'Supra. postea.' *A.*]

[b] [The words in the text enclosed within brackets are not found in the Durham MS., but are inserted on the authority of *D.*]

BOOK III

ward preserved and beautified by Moses and king David, with the rest of his most worthy and godly successors.] For except we should condemn the Old Testament, as many ancient heretics[c] formerly have done, and thereupon overthrow all which hitherto we have built; and not that only, but either furthermore approve of their gross impiety who so read the Scriptures of the New Testament as if they were falsified 278
or corrupted, and receiving and rejecting as much of them as they list, do prefer before them, as not containing in them all truth[d], certain apocryphal writings; or should ourselves impiously imagine that the New Testament, as now we have it, was but a rough draught[e] and project compiled for the time by the Apostles, and to be afterwards better ordered, polished, and supplied with certain human traditions[f] by some of their successors; [g]we can see no sufficient warrant or probable reason why the bishop of Rome should take upon him, as he doth, so eminent and supream authority over all the kingdoms and churches in the world, to rule them, direct them, bestow them, and chop and change them under pretence of religion, as he from time to time shall think fit. Sure we are, if the Scriptures may retain their ancient authority and continue to be true rules and principal directors to all apostolical bishops, that in them there will not be found any shadows or steps of those so high and lofty conceits. To the proof whereof before we address ourselves, we have thought it very expedient, for the carriage of our course more perspicuously and clearly, to make it apparent[h] by what degrees and practices the bishops of Rome have proceeded in aspiring to that soveraignty and greatness which now they have attained.

PLACET EIS.

JOHN OVERALL, Prolocutor.

[c] August. de Hæres. cap. 46. [See note A.]

[d] [all necessary truth for man's salvation, certain obscure and apocryphal writings. *D.*]

[e] [draught and a fit project. *D.*]

[f] [traditions and doctrines. *D.*]

[g] [The writer above mentioned has here inserted in the margin of the Durham MS. these words: 'begin here.']

[h] [The passage to the end of the chapter is bracketed off in the MS., and in the margin is written, in red chalk, 'The sum of the Chapter following.']

279 CHAP. II.

As it was said long since, 'Religion brought forth riches and the daughter devoured the mother[1];' so may it very truly be said in these days, 'the empire begat the papacy, and the son hath devoured his father.' For, as we suppose by the effects, no sooner did the bishops of Rome, even in the first times of persecution, get any rest and courage, but they began to think with themselves that they were as able to govern all the churches in the empire as the emperors themselves were to govern all the kingdoms and nations then subject unto them; and that Rome was as fit a seat for such a bishop as it was for so great an emperor. Some seeds of this ambition began to sprout there when Victor presumed to threaten the Greek churches[k], concerning the feast of Easter; although Irenæus, then living, did greatly dislike it; and the bishops of Asia, little regarding him in that behalf, said they nothing cared for such his threats. [l]And it was not, we suppose, an idle conceit of one, who writing an abstract of the bishops of Rome, and comparing those that were before Victor with those that followed, saith thus: *In his papis abundat spiritus, in posterioribus malesuada caro*[m]: 'The Spirit abounded in the former popes, but in those that succeeded him, the seducing flesh.'

[n]Some more light whereof, as also of the said undermining ambition, brake out, little above fifty years after Victor, in Cornelius, the twenty-second bishop of Rome; who notwithstanding the great trouble he had at home with his fellow-counter-pope Novatianus, could find such leisure, under pretence of importunity and threatenings, as to entertain a complaint against St. Cyprian, which was preferred unto him by
280 one Felicissimus, a priest, sent to Rome from Fortunatus, an usurping and schismatical bishop; whom, together with Felicissimus, St. Cyprian, with other African bishops, had lawfully

[1] [Instead of 'Religion,' 'the Church' was originally written in *A.*]

[k] Euseb., lib. v. cap. 24. Id. ib., c. 23. [See note B.]

[l] [The passage from 'And it was,' to 'flesh,' is written in the margin of the MS. as a contemporary addition.]

[m] Geo. Vicel. Epit. Rom. Pontif. [See note C.]

[n] [The paragraph here beginning, and which ends with the words 'other bishops,' is placed in the Durham MS. on a slip of paper inserted between the leaves.]

BOOK III.

excommunicated for sundry their lewd and ungodly actions. With which injurious course St. Cyprian being made acquainted and somewhat moved, he writ to Cornelius an epistle[o] wherein he justifieth his proceedings and disliketh those of his adversaries, first, because there was a decree amongst them, and that also equal and just, that every man's cause should be there heard where the fault was committed. Secondly, for that a portion of the flock was committed to several bishops, which every one of them was to rule and govern, being to yield an account of his actions to God. Whereupon he inferreth thus, saying, 'It doth not become those over whom we bear rule, to run gadding about, nor by their crafty and deceitful rashness to break the united concord of bishops; but there to plead their cause where they may have both accusers and witness of their crimes; unless,' saith he, 'the authority of the bishops of Africk doth seem unto a few desperate and outcast persons to be less than the authority of other bishops.'

It appeareth furthermore, that for the better government of the churches in those times of persecution it was thought fit that there should be four patriarchs, who were to take upon them the inspection and especial charge of all the bishops, priests, and churches that were severally assigned unto them[p]. In which distribution the bishops of Rome got the first place; it being then thought convenient to seat their chief bishops in the principal cities of the Romans, and to grant unto them[q] authority in causes ecclesiastical, much resembling[r] the prerogatives which those cities had in causes temporal. Of all the eastern lieutenantships, that of Syria was the chief; and therefore Antioch, being the principal city of that province, was made also the seat of one of the said patriarchs. Afterwards likewise Alexandria, exceeding much in honour the city of Antioch, another patriarch was there placed; who, according to the dignity of that city, had precedency of the patriarch of Antioch. Whereby we judge that the patriarch or bishop of Rome had the first place amongst the rest of the

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[o] [See note D.]

[p] Wolfgang. Lazius Comment. Reip. Rom., lib. ii. Baron., tom. i. Ann. 39. [See note E.]

[q] ['unto them more eminent authority,' was originally the reading of *A.*]

[r] [Originally written, 'agreeable to the prerogatives.']

patriarchs, because Rome was then the chiefest city in the world and the seat of the empire. Which point is yet more manifest by these words of the council of Chalcedon: *Sedi Veteris Romæ Patres merito dederunt primatum, quòd illa civitas aliis imperaret*[s]. Howbeit, this primacy or precedency notwithstanding, the bishop of that see, before the council of Nice, confirmed by Constantine, the emperor, was little more respected than any other of the patriarchs; as a principal person, afterwards of that rank, testifieth, saying: *Ante concilium Nicænum ad Romanam ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus*[t]; 'before the council of Nice there was little respect borne to the church of Rome[u];' although we doubt not by the premises but that the bishops thereof endeavoured what they could to equal the primacy of that patriarchship to the honour and dignity of that imperial city, as by their subsequent practices it will more plainly appear.

PLACET EIS.
JO. OVERALL.

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CHAP. III.

Constantine the emperor having received the Gospel, did in his zeal greatly advance the dignity of the bishops of Rome by endowing of that bishoprick with great honour and temporal possessions. [x]Besides, whether it grew from the cunning of those bishops and their especial instruments, or through the zeal of the people, or by both those means, it is apparent that within some forty-seven years after Constantine's death, that bishoprick was grown to so great wealth, as when it was void, many troubles, garboiles, and contentions arose for the obtaining of it. After the death of

[s] [See note F.]

[t] Æneas Sylv. Ep. 288. [See note G.]

[u] [Here the chapter originally ended, the remainder being added in the margin by another but contemporary scribe.]

[x] [The passage beginning here and ending, 'plenty and delicacy,' is written on a slip inserted between the pages. The text stood originally thus: 'honour and temporal possessions, which being added,' &c. A marginal note, afterwards struck out, continued it thus: 'though not in such sort as the donation forged under the emperor's name doth pretend.']

BOOK III.

Liberius, the second bishop after Constantine, such were the tumults in Rome betwixt Damasus and Ursicinus in striving for that place, as there were found in the church of Sicininus, slain on both sides in one day, one hundred and thirty-seven persons, and great labour was taken before the people could be appeased. 'Whereat,' saith the writer of that history[y], 'I do not marvel, and that men should be desirous of that preferment; considering that when they have got it, they may ever afterwards be secure, they are so enriched with the oblations of matrons, they ride abroad in their coaches so curiously attired, and in their diet are so delicate and profuse,' *ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas*, 'as their feasts exceed the fare of kings.' Insomuch as a desperate heathen man was accustomed, in scorn towards Damasus after he had gotten the victory against his adversary, to cast out these words: *Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus*[z], 'make me bishop of Rome, and I will presently become a Christian.' Which alluring plenty and delicacy being added to the primacy of that place and to the aspiring humours of those bishops, their ambition began to shew itself daily more and more. Insomuch as they hardly endured that any of the other patriarchs should have any extraordinary reputation, being ever most jealous of their own. The Fathers of the Greek church met together in the general[a] council at Constantinople about forty years after the death of Constantine, finding themselves grieved, of likelihood, with the proceedings of the bishops of Rome, and that the bishops of Constantinople were not so much regarded in Rome as they ought to have been, Constantinople being then the chief seat of the empire, did define, with one consent[b], 'that as causes did arise in any province, the same should be determined in the council of the same province.' And furthermore they made this canon: *Constantinopolitanæ civitatis episcopum habere oportet primatûs honorem post Romanum pontificem, propterea quòd sit nova Roma.* With these pro-

[y] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. Alph. Chiaccon. in vita Damas. [See note H.]

[z] Hieron. ad Pammachium. [See note I.]

[a] [The words 'Fathers of the Greek church met together in the general,' are inserted above the line in *A.* by a different hand.]

[b] Tripart. Hist., lib. ix. cap. 1. Conc. Constant., i. can. 5. [See note I.]

ceedings the bishops of Rome were afterwards[c], as one noteth, much discontented; as fearing, we suppose, lest by these beginnings New Rome might in time more prejudice Old Rome than they could well brook or endure. But that all causes should be tried in the provinces where they did arise, it was no marvel though they disliked it. Therefore to meet with that inconvenience, as they might, after some distance of time one Apiarius, being excommunicated in Africk and thereupon appealing to Rome, Zosimus the bishop there did very readily embrace his cause, and without hearing of the other side, pronounced him innocent, and so absolved him. Which fact of his was afterwards approved by Boniface the First[d] and Cœlestinus the First; pretending, as it seemeth, that as in all civil causes for these western parts there lay appeals to the city of Rome, so in all ecclesiastical causes, when men received, as they thought, injury under any of the patriarchs or other bishops, they might, if they would, appeal
284 to the bishop of that see. And to justify that their ambitious challenge, they forged a canon of the council of Nice, as it was directly proved in the African[e] council[f] holden at Hippo about the year 423. Whereupon the bishops of the said council, in which number St. Augustine was one, perceiving what the bishops of Rome meant by that sleight, viz. that if once they might obtain a power to receive appeals from all the churches within the empire, they would shortly after grow to challenge some universal authority over all the said churches; did, to prevent the same, make two decrees, 'That if any clergyman would appeal from their bishops, they should not appeal but to the African councils, or to the primates of their province;' adding this penalty[g], 'That if any did appeal to the transmarine parts, *à nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur*[h]. And their second decree is thus set down by Gratian: *primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur Princeps Sacerdotum, vel Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantùm Primæ Sedis Episcopus; Universalis autem,*

[c] Annot. in cap. v. Concil. Constant. edit. Venetiis, 1585. Surius in Concil. Chalced. Can. 28. [See note K.]

[d] ['the First' added above the line.]

[e] Concil. Afric. per Surium. cap. 101. [See note L.]

[f] [Originally written, 'in the Council of Carthage,' in *A.*]

[g] Conc. Afric. Can. 92. [See note M.]

[h] Distinct. 99. Primæ. [See note N.]

BOOK III. *nec etiam Romanus pontifex appelletur.* It is strange to consider how the bishops of Rome were vexed with this council, and how from time to time they sought to discredit it; as also what shifts and devices their late proctors[i] have found out to the same purpose; but all in vain, for the truth of that whole action is so manifest as it cannot be suppressed by any such shifts or practices whatsoever.

PLACET EIS.
JO. OVERALL.

CHAP. IV. 287

Although the said council of Africk troubled the bishops of Rome, as is above mentioned, yet shortly after some other new occasions happened which stung them more sharply. For about the year 451, when the city of Constantinople was grown to be in very great honour, it seemed good to the Fathers of the Greek church and others assembled in the general council holden at Chalcedon, to make this canon following[k]: 'The ancient Fathers did justly grant privileges to the throne of Old Rome, because that city bare then the chief sway; and with the same reason one hundred and fifty godly bishops being moved, did grant equal privileges to the throne of New Rome, rightly[l] judging that the city of Constantinople, which was then honoured with the empire and senate, should enjoy equal privileges with Old Rome; and that in matters ecclesiastical she ought to be extolled and magnified as well as Rome, being the next after her.' Against this canon[m] pope Leo stormed exceedingly, and the whole council itself, in respect of the said canon, is of later years sought to be discredited.

But the great and main quarrel betwixt New Rome and

[i] Præfat. in Concil. Afric. vel Carthag. 6. in Concil. edit. Venetiis. 1585. Sander. de Visib. Monarch., lib. vii. Turrian. lib. iii. pro Epistolis Pontif. [See note O.]

[k] Concil. Chalced. per Surium Can. 28. [See note P.]

[l] [The word 'rightly' is added above the line by a different scribe.]

[m] Surius in Can. 28. Concil. Chalced. [See note Q.]

BOOK III.

Old Rome began about the year 586, when John the patriarch of Constantinople, not contenting himself to have equal privileges with the bishops of Rome, would needs be accounted the universal bishop[n]; which challenge did the rather move the bishops of Rome, because they found that Mauricius the emperor inclined greatly to his desire. Whereupon Pelagius the Second, and after him Gregorius the First, as fearing the issue that might ensue of that contention to the great prejudice of the church of Rome, they blew successively both of them a hasty retreat, and pretended very earnestly that it was utterly unlawful for any bishop to seek so great an authority over all other bishops and churches. And first Pelagius, opposing himself against the said John, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote thus to certain bishops: 'Let none of the patriarchs ever use this so profane a word; for if the chief patriarch be called universal, the name of the other patriarchs is derogated from them; but far be it from the mind of every faithful man so much as to have a will to challenge that to himself whereby he may seem, in any respect, how little soever, to diminish the honour of the rest of his brethren[o].' But Gregory in this point exceedeth[p]. He telleth Mauricius the emperor and others, in sundry of his epistles, 'that it is against the statutes of the Gospel for any man to take upon him to be called universal bishop; that no bishop of Rome did ever admit of that name of singularity and profane title[q]; that John his endeavour therein was an argument that the times of Antichrist drew near; that the king of pride was at hand, and that an army of priests was prepared for him.' And thus he concludeth: 'I do confidently affirm that whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, he doth in his pride make way for Antichrist[r].' After Gregory succeeded Sabinianus, who had so hard a conceit of Gregory, his predecessor, that he was purposed to have burnt his books, rather, as we suppose, because he had written so much against the title of universal bishop, than for either of

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[n] [In the margin of *A.* is the following cancelled memorandum: 'Quære an hic titulus datus sit Joanni in Synodo.'].

[o] 1 Epist. Pelag. II. tom. ii. Concil. [See note R.]

[p] Greg., lib. iv. Epist. 32. Ibid. Ep. 36. 38. [See note S.]

[q] Ibid. Ep. 36. Ibid. Ep. 38. [See note T.]

[r] Id. lib. vi. Ep. 30. ad Mauricium. [See note U.]

BOOK III.

the conjectures which Platina mentioneth[s]. But the issue of the said contention was this; Mauricius the emperor being slain by Phocas, his servant, and Phocas himself having gotten the empire, Boniface the Third prevailed so far with him, after much and great opposition, as the emperor gave order that the church of Rome should be called and accounted, *caput omnium ecclesiarum*[t]. Which another[u] man of great account amongst them in these days reporteth after this sort. 287
'The contention betwixt the patriarch of Constantinople and the bishop of Rome, for the primacy, was again determined by Phocas the emperor pronouncing out of the old councils and Fathers that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches.' For his 'again' he might well have left it out, as also his phrases of councils and Fathers; and therefore we prefer in this point[x] Platina before him, who making neither mention of councils nor Fathers, dealeth more truly, and saith that the church of Constantinople, *sibi vendicare conabatur*, that place which Boniface obtained[y] from the emperor Phocas; and that the same was obtained upon these grounds, viz. 'that whereas the bishop of Constantinople insisted, *eò loci primam sedem esse debere ubi imperii caput esset;* it was answered by the bishop of Rome and his agents, that Constantinople was but a colony deduced out of the city of Rome, and therefore that the city of Rome ought still to be accounted *caput imperii;* that the Grecians themselves in their letters termed their prince the emperor of the Romans, and that the citizens of Constantinople were called, not Grecians, but Romans.' Indeed Platina further saith, being peradventure of our mind, that he will omit how the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to St. Peter, and so to the Roman bishops, his successors, and not to the bishops of Constantinople; and we likewise, following his example, as a thing impertinent to our purpose, will here omit the same. Only we do observe that the contention betwixt the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople was *de primatu;* and that the bishop of Rome obtained that place by Phocas his means, which the bishop of Constantinople did challenge to

[s] Plat. in Vit. Sabin. I. [See note V.]
[t] Plat. de Bonifac. III. [See note W.]
[u] Genebrard. Chronol. de Bonifac. III. [See note X.]
[x] Platin. in Bonifac. III. [See note Y.]
[y] [Originally, 'had obtained,' in *A.*]

himself. Whereupon we offer to men's considerations these two arguments: Whosoever taketh upon him that primacy, or place in the Church, which John, the bishop of Constantinople, did challenge to himself, is the forerunner of Antichrist; 288 but the bishops of Rome do take upon them that primacy and place; *ergo*. Again: Those priests which do adhere unto him that taketh upon him that place and primacy which John, the bishop of Constantinople, did challenge to himself, are an host prepared for the king of pride; but all priests that do adhere to the bishop of Rome, do adhere unto him that taketh upon him that primacy and place which John, the bishop of Constantinople, did challenge to himself; *ergo*. But our purpose is not to dispute[z]; only this we add, that till this time that the bishop of Rome had prevailed so far with Phocas, as is afore mentioned, his predecessors, notwithstanding their great authority, after Constantine's reign and favour with the emperors succeeding[a], they behaved themselves dutifully towards them, and acknowledged them to be their lords and masters. But afterwards, in short time, they left those phrases, and began to call the emperors their sons. To which alteration a very worthy man[b] taking exception, he is answered by another of many good parts, it must be confessed, after this sort; 'St. Gregory might call Mauricius his lord, either of courtesy or of custom; and yet our holy father, Pius the Fourth, shall not be bound to do the like, in consideration that the custom hath long since been discontinued.'

PLACET EIS.

JO. OVERALL[c].

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CHAP. V.

Although when the bishops of Rome, after much opposition, had obtained their desires for their primacy before

[a] [Here the chapter ended originally; what follows is inserted in *A.* by the same scribe in the space which had been left between the chapters.]

[z] Innocent. III. Epist. Atinacensi in lib. v. Decret. Constitut. [See note Z.]

[b] Bishop Jewel's Defence of his Apol. Part 4. Dr. Harding, ibid. [See note 2 A.]

[c] [The 'placet eis' and the signature are in *A.* at the bottom margin of the page, and not at the end of this chapter.]

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mentioned, they might well enough, as we suppose, have been contented; yet forasmuch as still they remained in greater subjection to the emperors than they thought was agreeable with their greatness, their aspiring mind rested not there, but began shortly after to cast about how they might in their places be independent and absolute. For the compassing whereof they took hold of every occasion that might serve, or be wrested and drawn to that purpose. At the first receiving of the Gospel, men are ever, for the most part, very zealous and great favourers of the ministry. In the Apostles' times they 'sold their lands and possessions, and laid the price of them at the Apostles' feet.' St. Paul was received by the Galatians as an angel of God; yea, as Jesus Christ: and such was their love towards him that to 'have done him good they would have plucked out their eyes and given them unto him.' When the emperors of Rome became Christians, they did exceed in this behalf, especially towards the bishops of that see, bestowing upon them very great riches and ample possessions. Of all which zealous disposition, benefits and favours, they ever made, above all other bishops, their greatest advantage, by employing the same to the advancement of their greatness. Wherein they were furthermore very much helped and furthered by the authority which the emperors gave unto them in temporal causes; holding them for their gravity, learning, and discretion, very meet and fit persons, in their own absence from Rome, to do them that way very great service.

Acts 4. 34.

Gal. 4. 14, 15.

Besides, if we shall deal sincerely and truly, as we hold 290
ourselves always bound, and more strictly in a cause of this importance, we must needs confess that it hath been the manner of divines, from the Apostles' times almost, to magnify and extol the worthiness and excellency of their own calling; which was a very commendable and necessary course in many, the ordinary contempt of the ministry considered, and had been so in all of them, if they had not therewith depressed too much the dignity and pre-eminence of kings and princes. Comparisons in such cases were[d] ever worthily held to be odious. Bishops and priests might without any just reprehension have been resembled to gold,

to the sun, and to what else is excellent, without comparing the highest magistrates, under God, in respect of themselves, to the moon, to lead, and to some other things of such like base estimation. And we doubt not but that they would have refrained from such comparisons, if they could have foreseen how the bishops of Rome would, to the disgrace and dishonour of civil authority, have wrested and perverted them; notwithstanding that their inferences thereupon have ever had more show and probability than substance and truth; except we shall say that the callings of schoolmasters and physicians are in dignity to be preferred before all other temporal callings because the end of the one is the instructing of men's understandings, and of the other, health; which either ought to be, or are, both of them in their kinds, of greater estimation than any other things whatsoever.

We shall not need to trouble ourselves with the citing of any authorities to prove how eagerly the bishops of Rome, especially after Boniface the Third had obtained of Phocas the said supremacy, have pressed the same comparisons; it is so evident, both in their own writings and likewise generally in all their treatises, who from time to time have laboured with all their force and might to advance, above all other authority upon earth, the sovereignty of that see.

PLACET EIS.

JO. OVERALL.

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CHAP. VI.

Albeit the former occasions, as they were handled, and particularly the device last before specified, wrought very much in the hearts of the simpler sort to the debasing of the imperial and regal authority in respect of the spiritual, and that it was therefore prosecuted and amplified with all the skill and rhetoric that could be; yet there was another matter which troubled the bishops of Rome exceedingly, and never gave them rest until they had prevailed in it, as if

BOOK III.

without it they had gained little by their primacy. It seemeth that Constantine the Great, when he left Rome, notwithstanding his especial benefits and favours to the bishops of that see, did in his wisdom think it fit that none should be advanced to that bishoprick without the emperor's consent. For the better manifestation whereof it is to be observed, that whilst the bishops of Rome were labouring so earnestly for their supremacy till Phocas' time, the city of Rome had been four times surprised by divers barbarous nations: anno 413[e], by Alaricus, the second king of the Goths, Innocentius the First being then bishop; anno 457, by Gensericus, the leader of the Vandals, Leo the First being then bishop; anno 470, or thereabouts, by Odoacer, Simplicius being then bishop; anno 493, or thereabouts, by Theodoricus and the East Goths, Gelasius the First being then bishop; and was again by Belisarius, the captain of Justinian the em- 292
peror, recovered out of their hands about the year 537, Sylverius being then bishop. By all which attempts of the said barbarous nations, although the empire received great detriment, yet the bishops of Rome had leisure to contend for superiority; because the said barbarous nations, being Christians and very superstitious, did sometimes greatly honour them, and rather admired their pomp and state than sought any ways to impeach it. Which caused, as it seemeth, that the bishops of Rome, at the last, began to favour them more than they did their emperors. Insomuch as anno 536 the said Sylverius obtained that bishoprick, as one noteth[f], *Theodahato Gothorum rege jubente; cùm anteà non regum sed imperatorum autoritas soleret intervenire,* 'by the commandment of Theodahatus; whereas before, in the choice of the bishops of Rome, the authority of the emperors, and not of those kings, had been usually obtained.' Whereupon when Belisarius had recovered the city from the Goths[g], and was informed by certain sworn witnesses that the said Sylverius was plotting how he might render it again into the Goths, he, the said Belisarius, removed him from that see.

[e] Genebrard. Chronol. an. 413. [See note 2 B.]

[f] Alphons. Ciacco. de Vit. et Gest. Roman. in Vita Sylverii. [See note 2 C.]

[g] Id. ibid. ex Anastas. Procop. de Bello Goth. lib. i. Evagr. lib. iv. cap. 18. [See note 2 D.]

and placed Vigilius in his room. Whereof the emperor being advertised[h], did approve greatly that which Belisarius had done, and took a strict order with Vigilius that no bishop of Rome should thenceforward be consecrated until the emperor had approved of him and confirmed his election, so as thereby the emperors, having then their residence at Constantinople, might be always assured of the qualities and dispositions of the new bishops, whose authority then began to be great; lest otherwise some factious person or enemy of the emperor's being advanced to that see, the city of Rome, and Italy itself, might perhaps by his means revolt from the east empire, as a great friend to Rome hath very
293 well observed; who furthermore addeth thereunto[i], that this custom did afterwards continue until the time of Benedict the Second, that is, for a hundred and fifty years; in which space Gregory the Great and Boniface the Third, who had prevailed with Phocas for the supremacy of Rome, and eighteen bishops more successively enjoyed that bishoprick.

It was but touched before how in the time of Sylverius the authority of the bishops of Rome was grown great, whilst by the incursions of the said barbarous nations into Italy the power of the emperors in this west part of the world was greatly decayed. And although Justinian the emperor recovered in some good sort the former estate of the empire in these parts, yet not many years after, the Lombards, setting foot into Italy, did greatly impair the same. But the utter ruin of it did principally proceed, for aught we find to the contrary, from the bishops of Rome. For when about the year 686 the emperor Constantine the Fourth, greatly favouring Benedict the Second[k], gave the clergy and people of Rome licence to choose and admit from that time forward their bishops without any further expectation of the emperor's authority to approve and confirm the same, little remembering the wisdom and providence of Justinian; they, the said bishops, grew to great presumption and boldness against their succeeding emperors; until by their means, Rome, Italy, and the western parts of the empire were utterly cut

[h] Onuphr. in Vita Pelagii II. [See note 2 E.]

[i] Onuph. ubi supra. [See note 2 F.]

[k] Platin. in Vitâ Benedict. II. [See note 2 G.]

BOOK III.

off from the east empire; which Justinian and his successors, by keeping the bishops of Rome in some due subjection through their authority in their preferments to that see, did seek to have prevented. No sooner had the said emperor given the bishops of Rome this immunity and freedom, but, —to omit what dangerous quarrels arose amongst the citizens of Rome in the choice of their bishops,—scarce twenty years were passed before they began to insult greatly over the emperors. It is noted for a great commendation in pope 291
Constantine the First[l], because he was the first that durst take upon him openly to resist Philippicus, the next emperor after the said Justinian, *in os*, 'to his face.' But the opposition which Gregory the Second made against Leo the Third, the next but one to the said Philippicus, is indeed very memorable. He proceeded so far against him for giving commandment throughout all his empire, that, for the avoiding of idolatry, images should be removed out of all churches, as by his letters sent abroad, far and near[m], he procured such passing hatred against Leo, especially amongst the Italians, as they brake out in divers places into open rebellion. Wherein they went so far, that every city and town rejected the magistrates appointed by the emperor's authority[n], and created magistrates of their own whom they called Dukes; entering into a course to have abrogated the empire of Constantinople and to have set a new emperor in Italy. From which course although the pope dissuaded them[o], as disliking, we suppose, to have an emperor so near him; yet he took such order as both Rome and the rest of the Italians withdrew from that time forward their customs and tributes, which had beforetimes been paid to the emperor; and their rebellion so increased every day against him that the Romans forsook him and submitted themselves by an oath to the said Gregory the Second[p], to be ordered and governed by him in all things. Whereby Rome and the dukedom thereof was violently taken from the emperor of Constantinople and bestowed upon the bishop of Rome. In respect of which

[l] Onuphr. in Vitâ Constantin. I. [See note 2 H.]
[m] Sabellicus Enncad. 8. lib. vii. [See note 2 I.]
[n] Blondus Decad. 1. lib. x. [See note 2 J.]
[o] Papir. Masson. lib. iii. in vit. Greg. II. Blondus, ibid. [See note 2 K.]
[p] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Gregor. II. [See note 2 L.]

most irreligious and unbishoplike proceedings, the patrons of that see do greatly commend him. One of them saith, 'that the bishops of Rome are either beholding to him, or to none, for their principality[q].' For, as he in the same place further affirmeth, he made his successors great princes; the beginning
295 whereof was hard, the progress more easy, and the event prosperous and happy. *Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem;* It was a matter of so great difficulty to erect the papacy. Indeed it is behoveful for them to measure the pope's dealings by their success and events, for otherwise they were in themselves very abominable; every pope growing still one more insolent than another, as appeared by the practices of Gregory the Third, persisting in his predecessor's steps against the said emperor, and of Stephen the Second against Constantine the son of Leo.

[Ver. Virg. I. 33.

Now whilst these famous popes were playing their parts on the one side, as we have shewed, against the emperors, to withdraw the hearts of the Italians from him, the Saracens were as busy against him on the other side; which might have moved their holiness, if they had had the fear of God before their eyes, rather to have procured some assistance from the Italians to the emperor in a case of that nature, than to have drawn his own subjects from him. But their course was bent another way. For the Lombards beginning to trouble Rome, and they being ashamed to crave aid from the said emperor whom they had so abused, they left their own sovereigns, under pretence that in regard of their wars with the Saracens they were not able to assist them, and procured assistance from France; first by Carolus Martellus and then by Pepin his son[r], the said Stephen the Second having bound the said Pepin, as it seemeth, by an oath, that if he overcame the Lombards, all that appertained to the exarchate of Ravenna[s], which had lately been the emperor's, might be annexed to the bishoprick of Rome; which was afterwards by him performed accordingly.

Suitable hereunto were the proceedings of pope Adrian the First[t], who being again troubled with the Lombards,

[q] Papir. Masson. in Vit. Gregor. II. [See note 2 M.]

[r] Platin. in Vit. Steph. II. [See note 2 N.]

[s] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Steph. III. [See note 2 O.]

[t] Marian. Scotus. Herman. Contract. Platin. in Adrian. I. [See note 2 P.]

BOOK III.

obtained help from Carolus Magnus, by whose coming into Italy the Lombards were shortly subdued, and the pope's 296
estate greatly advanced; but the emperor's was in effect utterly overthrown, concerning his interest and authority which he had before in those parts. For the said Carolus having vanquished the Lombards, and none else there being able to resist him, he caused the said pope to anoint his son Pepin king of Italy, and so returned into France[t]. But four years after, Leo the Third being pope, and afterwards fallen into so great hatred amongst the Romans as he hardly escaped them with his life; he, the said Leo, used such means as that he brought the said Charles again to Rome, before whom Leo purged himself by his oath from those accusations [illegible] the Romans charged him. In requital whereof,[u] and the rather, because at that time Irene the empress and wife of Leo the Fourth, reigned at Constantinople after her husband's death, which the Romans disliked; the said Charles was in Rome created emperor over the western parts; which belonged before to the ancient empire. Touching which point, an ancient historiographer[x] writeth in this sort; 'The Romans, who in heart were long before faln from the emperor of Constantinople, taking this occasion and opportunity that a woman had gotten the dominion over them, did with one general consent proclaim king Charles for their emperor, and crowning him by the hands of Leo the Third, saluted him as Cæsar and emperor of Rome.' And this was the fruit of the exemption which was granted to the bishops of Rome by the emperor Constantine the Fourth for their preferment to that see without the emperor's approbation; Rome and Italy are cut off from the ancient empire, a new empire is erected by the practices and treacheries principally of the bishops of Rome, it being in a sort necessary that so notable a treason against the said ancient empire should be especially effected by such notorious instruments.

PLACET EIS.

JO. OVERALL.

[t] Sigibert. ann. 781. Otho Frising. lib. v. cap. 28. Sigibert. ann. 800. Otho Frising. lib. v. cap. 30. Platin. in Leon. III. [See note 2 Q.]

[u] Sigibert. anno 801. [See note 2 R.]

297 CHAP. VII.

Charles the Great having possessed himself, *jure belli*, of the greatest part of Italy, and made his son king thereof, although he bestowed much upon the church of Rome and used pope Urban very honourably, yet, he being a very wise and a provident prince, could not be ignorant how insolently the bishops of Rome had behaved themselves towards their former emperors, and how traitorously they had long sought to make them odious in Italy after they had gotten themselves to be released from the emperor's authority in their advancement to that see. That he might therefore prevent the like dangers for the time to come, and secure both himself and his posterity in that behalf, he so used the matter with the said Urban, as he brought the popes to their former subjection. The relation whereof is thus recorded by a principal upholder of that see. 'Carolus being returned to Rome,' saith he, 'appointed a synod there with pope Adrian in the patriarchal palace of Lateran; which synod was celebrated by one hundred and fifty-three religious bishops and abbots. At what time Adrian the pope, with the whole synod, delivered or yielded to Charles's interest and power of choosing the bishop of Rome, and of ordering the apostolical see. Moreover he, the said Adrian, defined that all the archbishops and bishops through all particular provinces should receive from the said Charles their investiture; and that none should be consecrated by any, except he were first commended and invested bishop by the king, under pain of excommunication[y].'

Howbeit[z], when Charles being dead, his son Ludovicus was, as it seemeth, so wrought upon through the softness of his
298 nature, as he was contented that the Romans[a] according to their own judgment should create and consecrate their new bishop, so it were done without tumult or bribery; always provided that the new bishop should advertise him by his legates as touching his consecration, and conclude a peace

[y] Distinct. 63. Adrianus. [See note 2 T.]

[z] Platin. in Vit. Pasch. I. [See note 2 S.]

[a] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Pasch. I. [See note 2 U.]

BOOK III.

with him; or, as another saith[b], that legates should be directed unto the emperor and to his successors, kings of France, to make a league of friendship, love and peace, betwixt them and the bishops of that see. With this order, though it tended much to the prejudice of the empire, the bishops of Rome were not long satisfied, as brooking no show of any superiority over them, but were still shifting, as they might, to cast off likewise that yoke; which Otho the First well perceiving, when he came to the empire, sought to reform, as knowing how dangerous their ambitious humours were to his estate, by causing Leo the Eighth, with all the clergy and people of Rome, to decree in a synod about the year 964: 'That he, the emperor, and his successors, should have the power of ordaining the bishops of Rome; that if any should attempt aught against this rule, he should be subject to excommunication; and that if he repented not, then he should be punished with irrevocable banishment, or be put to death[c].' Afterwards, also about the year 1046, Henry the Third, finding those bishops still to persist in their said aspiring course of exempting themselves from the emperor's authority, and that thereby there grew divers schisms and quarrels in their elections, he held a council at Sutrium[d], not far from Rome, wherein it was determined that the Romans should no more intermeddle with the choice of their bishops, but that the same should be always referred to the emperor. At what time also, the emperor made the Romans to swear, that from thenceforward they would neither choose nor consecrate any pope, but such a one as he should tender unto them.

By these and such like other means, from the time of 299
Charles the Great hitherto, for about the space of 236 years, the emperors kept the bishops of Rome in some reasonable good obedience towards them; but not without their own great trouble, and much kicking and repining by those bishops at it, as growing daily worse and worse; insomuch as there being sixty of them, if not more, who succeeded in that see, within the compass of the years before mentioned,

[b] Distinct. 63. Ego Ludovicus. [See note 2 V.]
[c] Distinct. 63. In Synodo. [See note 2 W.]
[d] Sigebert. Genebr. Chronol. [See note 2 X.]

about fifty of them did so degenerate from the virtues of their predecessors, as a great friend in his time to the papacy reporteth[e], that they rather deserved to be termed *apotactaci apostaticive, potiùs quàm apostolici,* 'unruly, or renegates, than apostolical bishops.' The last of which number was Leo the Ninth, who within five or six years after the said council of Sutrium, renounced the emperor's favour, whereby he was preferred to the papacy, being persuaded by one Hildebrand that it was unlawful *per manum laicam*[f] to take upon him that government, and was thereupon again chosen and admitted pope by the Romans, contrary to their former oath and to the decree of the said council. This Hildebrand, being a man both of a great wit and courage, and having an eye himself unto the papacy, made his way in that behalf by thrusting five or six bishops successively into opposition against the emperor; of purpose that if it were his fortune to come to that place, he might find the ice broken by them to his own rebellion and most traitorous designments. The said Leo became a warrior and general of the field against some troublesome persons in Italy called Normans, by Hildebrand's means, as it seemeth, *Cujus consiliis et nutu, pontificatûs munus perpetuò administravit*[g]. The like sway he also bare with pope Nicholas the Second, who made him archdeacon of Rome, in requital for his helping of him to the popedom; and by whose advice the said Nicholas held a
300 council in the church of Lateran, wherein it was ordained, that from henceforth the bishops of Rome should be chosen by the cardinals with approbation of the clergy and people of Rome[h]. Also the said Hildebrand opposed himself against the emperor, and prevailed therein for Alexander the Second, the emperor having appointed Honorius the Second to that place; which Alexander, so advanced, made a decree[i], that no man should in time to come receive any ecclesiastical living or benefice from a layman, because it was then called simony so to do. And thus these popes by Hildebrand's instigation decreed and did what they list, to the great prejudice of the

[e] Genebr. Chronol. Seculo 10. [See note 2 Y.]

[f] Otto Frising. lib. vi. cap. 33. Platin. in Leo. IX. [See note 2 Z.]

[g] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Leon. IX. [See note 3 A.]

[h] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Nicol. II. Genebr. Chronol. [See note 3 B.]

[i] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Alexand. II. Genebr. Chronol. [See note 3 C.]

BOOK III. emperor and of his authority; the same being now, in respect of former times, almost at the last cast.

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JO. OVERALL.

CHAP. VIII. 301

It was great policy in the emperors, as we have shewed, to do what they could for the maintenance of their authority in placing of the bishops of Rome, and in bestowing of other bishopricks and abbacies within their dominions; but such was the ignorance, hypocrisy and superstition of those times, so far spread by the inferior bishops and priests, and so rooted every where in men's hearts by[k] the bishops of that see, under colour of religion and of their pretended supremacy derived by them from St. Peter, as they feared not to attempt any thing against any whosoever, so the same might tend to the advancement of their own authority. Again, it was a great oversight in Charles the Great, considering his wisdom and that he well knew the proud and aspiring minds of those bishops, that after his own coronation at Rome by Leo the Third, he did not provide for the benefit of his successors, that none of them after that time should ever be crowned there or by the bishop of that place. For that slip and omission, being not well looked to and reformed by any that did succeed him, became at the last the great bane of the empire. Besides, the state of the emperors shortly after the days of the said Charles, did very greatly decay; insomuch as within about sixty years, Ludovicus the Second had but the ninth part of the empire[l], the rest being diversely and by sundry distractions and divisions rent and drawn from it.

Which weakness of the empire being throughly known to the bishops of Rome, and it discerned by them to decrease more and more, they grew more insolent than ever they were,

[k] [as the bishops. *A.*]

[l] Otho Frising. lib. vi. cap. 1. Gotefrid. Viterbiens. Chronol. part. 17. [See note 3 D.]

302 and began to insist upon their preeminence and great superiority over the emperors; because, forsooth, they received at their hands the diadem and crown imperial. These things will appear manifestly by the proceedings of those succeeding bishops if we shall begin with Hildebrand before mentioned, who after he had procured six bishops of Rome to be poisoned by one Brazutus, as many thought, was, upon the death of Alexander the Second, anno 1073, or thereabouts, made pope himself and termed Gregory the Seventh, with the consent of Henry the Fourth then emperor, as some say, without it, say others[m]. But whether with it or without it, when he had gotten that place, so long by him expected, he ruffled and bestirred himself very notably in it. BOOK III.

About that time there was a great rebellion against the emperor in Germany by the Saxons; who very well knowing the pride and violent disposition of the pope against the emperor, and how apt he would be to take any occasion that might tend to his own glory and to the honour of his place, desired his assistance, depraved the emperor very shamefully; and the rather to allure the pope unto them, told him by their agents that the empire was but *beneficium urbis;* and thereupon moved him that he and the people of Rome would together with them administer the empire, and take order by a decree of council and agreement of princes, who should be emperor. *Grata admodum Gregorio isthæc fuere*[n]; 'These things pleased Gregory exceedingly,' as a friend to Rome affirmeth. He thought that in such a whirling of things he was not to sit idle, as being persuaded that a fit time was come when he might free the bishops of Rome from servitude, shake off the yoke of the emperor, his abilities being diminished, abrogate his authority, lawfully translate the whole power to himself, and so establish the pontifical principality. And nothing seemed more glorious for him, than, fear being
303 taken away, to stand in dread of no mortal man and to enjoy the liberty of the Church as he list himself; there being an emperor whose arms and force were not to be feared, as who

[m] Benno Cardinal in Vita Hildebr. Balæus in Greg. VII. Functius in Comment. Chronolog. lib. x. Platin. in Greg. VII. Lamb. Schafnaburg. de Reb. German. [See note 3 F.]

[n] Aventin. Annal., lib. v. [See note 3 F.]

BOOK III.

did reign but at the pleasure of the bishop of Rome. Which points thus debated with himself and probably resolved, he joined friendship with the said rebels and traitors, promising them his best assistance agreeably to their own desires: and thereupon being furthermore strengthened by the amity which he likewise had entertained with certain other rebels in Italy, and by the purse of a great lady in that country, one Machtilda, his concubine[o], as it was supposed, he following the traitorous humours stirred up by himself and maintained a long time in sundry of his predecessors, did prosecute the emperor with admirable malice, pride and contempt, because he opposed himself in his own right and for his own defence against him. Which the pope took in such scorn as he cursed him by his excommunication[p], released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and stirred them up by all the means he could to take arms and to enter into any wicked practices that might tend to the emperor's overthrow. *Noluit enim, etc.*, 'For he would not endure it,' as one saith[q], 'that his consent should be required in the election of the bishop of Rome; nor that the emperor according to his will should have the bestowing of the bishopricks that were included within the limits of the empire.'

Surely it might have pleased him to have endured both the one and the other, as sundry popes, his equals, had done before him. And howsoever this attempt of Gregory is eagerly maintained in these days and held to be apostolical, yet then it seemed very strange to many. Thereof an ancient historiographer writeth in this sort[r]. *Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, etc.*; 'I read over and over again the acts of the Roman kings and emperors, but can find in no place that any of them before Henry the 304
Fourth was[s] ever excommunicated by the bishop of Rome or deprived of his kingdom.' And again[t]: 'The empire was the more vehemently moved with indignation through the novelty of this attempt, because such a sentence against the emperor of Rome was never heard of before those times.'

[o] Lamb. Schafnaburg. anno 1077. [See note 3 G.]

[p] Platin. in Greg. VII. Abbas Urspergen. [See note 3 H.]

[q] Genebr. Chronol. [See note 3 I.]

[r] Otho Frising., lib. vi. cap. 35. [See note 3 K.]

[s] [was excommunicated. *D.*]

[t] Otho Frising. de Gestis Fred., lib. i. cap. 1. Sigibert. in anno 1088. Vincent. in Spec. Hist., lib. xxv. ca. 84. [See note 3 L.]

BOOK III.

And another more ancient than the former, and almost of eight hundred years standing, doth not only term the said fact of the pope, a novelty, but saith in effect that it was an heresy. These are his words: 'Surely this novelty, I will not call it heresy, was never before heard of in the world, viz. that priests should teach the people that they owe no subjection unto evil kings; and that, notwithstanding they have taken an oath of fidelity unto them, yet they owe them no fidelity, nor are to be accounted perjured that violate the said oath; nay, that if any obey their king in that case, he shall be held for an excommunicate person; and he that attempteth any thing against such a king, shall be absolved both from the offence of injustice and of perjury.'

To this heretical novelty and most insolent attempt, which since hath had many false colours cast over it[u], to cover the lewdness and deformity of it, we might add the said pope's very admirable pride in permitting the said emperor, when he came unto him to be absolved from the said excommunication, to stand bare-footed in the frost and snow, three days at his gates. But that which ensued this novelty or heresy, this unpriestly and inhuman dealing with so great a person, is most remarkable above all the rest, viz. how he wound himself, like a cunning serpent, into the interest of the empire, and upon a slight occasion. The said rebels of Germany in their fury against the emperor having suggested unto him that the empire was a benefit belonging to the city of Rome[x], to be bestowed where she thought fit; although
305 they added therewith that the same was to be done by the bishop and by the people of Rome with the consent of other princes; yet he, finding what would serve his turn and was most available to his own designment, did afterwards, of himself and by his own authority, take upon him to dispose of the empire, as being void, by virtue of a second excommunication, and did accordingly send a crown of gold to Rodulphus duke of Suevia, now also grown a traitor, with this inscription:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho[y];

[u] Abbas Urspergens. Lamb. Schafnaburg. anno 1077. Plat. in Greg. VII. [See note 3 M.]

[x] Aventin. Annal., lib. v. [See note 3 N.]

[y] Aventin. Annal., lib. v. Matth. Paris. in Guilielmo I. Paul Langius, ann. 1078. [See note 3 O.]

BOOK III. 'Christ gave St. Peter authority to make emperors, and I, his successor, do thereupon send you this crown, and by my authority from St. Peter, do give you the empire.'

It is plain and evident that many emperors in former ages bestowed the papacy, and sometimes took it from one and gave it to another; but that ever pope there, before this man, did so dispose of the empire, we do not find it in any approved author. Neither can we conceive or easily believe, that Christ ever gave St. Peter any such authority as is here dreamed of. Only we observe, by the report of one [z], no protestant, that Gregory, to justify and colour his said presumption, bragged above measure that the West Empire was his; that all power was in himself [a]; that he was both bishop and emperor, Christ having imposed upon him those two persons; that he had no equal, and much less any superior; that he might take all right and hônour from other men, and transfer the same unto himself; and do much more than here we will mention. But touching any proof for all these great prerogatives, we find none, except this will serve his turn, that St. Peter received power to bind and loose, which we hold insufficient, notwithstanding that the papists now-a-days do allow them all, and admire him for it.

It hath been a usual custom for the pope's friends to extol 306
those bishops of Rome most who shewed themselves, whilst they lived, the greatest practitioners and traitors against the emperors. Agreeably whereunto one saith of him [b], that he was a man worthy of the pontificalship, because he depressed the insolency of politics, terrified monarchs with the glory of his name and zeal, and delivered the Church from the captivity and servitude which it endured under princes; and that, of all the bishops of Rome, he was one of chief zeal and authority, and a man *verè apostolicus*, 'truly apostolic,' and most to be praised. *Proceres et populum sacramento præstito sanctè solvit, et, ut Rodolpho adhæreant, sanctiùs imperat:* 'he did godly absolve the noblemen and people from their oath of allegiance to the emperor, and did more holily command them not to obey him.' What was thought long since of

[z] Aventin. Annal., lib. v. [See note 3 P.]

[a] [*D.* omits the clause, 'that all power was in himself.']

[b] Genebrard. Chronol. [See note 3 Q.]

these so godly and holy practices we have above touched; and we must also of necessity confess that to be true which this author and his fellows do write, of Gregory's greatness. For it is further recorded of him[c], that he did first erect *imperium pontificium*, 'the papal empire.' But touching his virtues, if an ancient cardinal, that wrote his life, did know him, there is no cause why any man should be in love with them. And as concerning this new and before unheard-of pontifical empire, if we may believe another of their own authors[d], it brought with it into the west empire, wars, bloodshed, homicide, parricide, hatred, whoredom, theft, sacrilege, dissension and sedition, both civil and domestical, corruption of the Scriptures, false and sycophantical interpretations, with many more mischiefs there by him mentioned; and yet, saith he, Gregory's successors did uphold it by the space of four hundred and fifty years, *invito mundo, invitis imperatoribus*, 'in spite of the world and of the
307 emperors,' and thereby drew both heaven and hell into their subjection and servitude. Again[e]; 'In former times, God, as a most indulgent father, did often chastise the western Christians by Saxons, Huns, Normans, Venetians, Lombards and Hungarians, men differing from us in religion; but now, as if God were become an angry father towards us, and we were neglected and disinherited by Him, we have, for above four hundred years, tyrannised amongst ourselves, worse than Turks; we deceive, we circumvent, we kill, we turn our weapons into our own bowels, we are left to our own lust, we live as we list, we behave ourselves proudly, covetously, without punishment, and we are not ashamed to give God the lie.'

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[c] Aventin. Annal., lib. v. Benno Cardinalis. [See note 3 R.]

[d] Aventin. ubi suprà. [See note 3 S.]

[e] Ubi suprà. [See note 3 T.]

CHAP. IX.

It were impertinent to our purpose, to enter into any particular relation of the great stirs and troubles which, through the pride of the bishops of Rome after Gregory the Seventh's time, were moved throughout all Christendom during the said term above mentioned of four hundred and fifty years, whilst the emperors with their adherents endeavoured still to have retained their ancient authority, both in the choice of the said bishops and of bestowing of other ecclesiastical preferments in the empire, which the popes with their friends did withstand with all their might and possible means and practices that they could devise and put in execution by their excommunications and stirring up the emperors' subjects to rebel against them. In which garboils and bloody oppositions when the emperors prevailed, the popes were deposed and others set up in their rooms; betwixt whom, the parties displaced, to recover their dignity, and the others, possessed of it, to retain it, no cruelty or cunning stratagems were omitted. And on the other side, when the popes got the upper hand of the emperors, for the most part by treason and rebellion, and always by constraint and violent usurpation, they did not spare to use them most dishonourably, and with all the reproach and contempt that might be well devised. Some examples whereof may be these.

Whereas before pope Paschal the Second his time, the former bishops of Rome were accustomed to add the years of the emperors to their bulls, epistles, and libels, he, the said Paschal, a little after Gregory the Seventh's days, altered that course[f], and withdrawing the years of the emperor Henry the Fifth, whom he had otherwise greatly vexed, added the number of his own papacy; which was a very insolent and a proud attempt, and yet ever since, for aught we remember, the same hath still been continued by all his successors. Innocentius the Second[g], having brought Lotharius the emperor to some dishonourable compacts and conditions before he would crown him, caused the story thereof, not without a

[f] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 3 U.]
[g] Radevicus de Gestis. Feder., lib. i. cap. 10. Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Innocentii II. [See note 3 V.]

great blemish to the imperial majesty, to be painted on the wall of his palace, with these two reproachful verses under it:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans priùs Urbis honores;
Post homo fit papæ; sumit, quo dante, coronam.

Alexander the Third[h], when Frederick the emperor was driven through rebellion of his subjects to come unto him for his absolution, set his foot upon his neck, and applied these words of the Psalm unto himself; *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.* [Ps. 91. 13.] It is reported of Cœlestinus the Third, that with his feet he set the crown upon the head of Henry the Sixth, and with one of them struck it off again; shewing thereby that he could make and unmake emperors at his pleasure. But we will omit these insolent facts, as also the great and dishonourable servitude whereunto by extremity they brought the emperors, and whereof the pope's Records and Books do make mention[i]; as of carrying up their first dish, giving of them water, bearing up their trains, leading their horses, holding their stirrup, and kissing their feet; and will apply ourselves to the consideration of their divinity, how they have dealt with the Scriptures to uphold these presumptions, and apostatical, and no way apostolical, seditions, rebellions, murders and treasons. One of their own friends observing, how shortly after Gregory the Seventh his time, his successors, by his example, behaved themselves in this behalf, writeth thus[k]: 'The most holy philosophy delivered from heaven by the Holy Ghost, they make apt or fit to their own conditions; by their interpretations they compel it to serve their ambition; the determinations and decrees of Christ they will not keep, but make them to serve their own humours.' We have shewed before how by sundry councils it was decreed that the emperors should have the investing of bishops within their own dominions; and Paschal the Second himself yielded as much to Henry the Fifth[l], being then present; but after his departure from Rome the case was altered, for then he could affirm with show of great devotion, that such a privilege

[h] Carion. Chron., lib. iv. Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Alexand. III. Genebr. Chronol. Ranulphus in Polychron., lib. vii. [See note 3 W.]

[i] Pontif. Rom. Gregor. XIII. par. i. Ceremoniale Rom., lib. i. [See note 3 X.]

[k] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 3 Y.]

[l] Abbas Urspergens. Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 3 Z.]

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was against the Holy Ghost. And another bishop, as it were, to uphold him therein, affirmed that it contained wickedness and heresy. To which purpose, we suppose, some places of the Scriptures were notably perverted. In which course Hadrian the Fourth presumed very far, when he durst write thus: 'Whence hath the emperor his empire but from us? By the election of princes he hath the name of king; by our consecration he hath the name of emperor, Augustus, and Cæsar. *Ergo, per nos imperat;* therefore he reigneth by us, and that which he hath, he hath from us. Behold, it is in our power to bestow the empire on whom we list[m].' And how doth he prove all this? Forsooth, by the words of the Lord to the prophet Jeremy; *Propterea constituti à Deo, etc.;* 'We are, to that end,' saith he, 'placed by God over nations and kingdoms, that we may destroy, and pull up, and build, and plant.' Herein Innocentius the Third likewise had an especial gift; for, speaking of Sylvester, he saith, he was both a bishop and a king[n]; relying not only upon the Scriptures, where Christ is called King of kings, and Lord of lords, but upon another place of St. Peter, 'You are a chosen generation and royal priesthood;' which words, he affirmeth, may be spiritually understood of Sylvester's successors, because, saith he, 'the Lord hath chosen them to be both priests and kings.' And to prevent an objection, lest any man should ask where it might be found that the Lord had so chosen them to both those great dignities, he telleth us that Constantine by a divine revelation gave unto Sylvester, with a crown of gold, the whole kingdom of the west. But yet he hath some better proofs to this purpose. For whereas Christ said unto St. Peter, *Duc in altum,* 'Launch out into the deep,' this deep, saith Innocentius[o], is Rome, which had then the primacy and principality over all the world; and therefore, where the Lord saith, 'Launch out into the deep,' it is as though He should have said, *Vade Romam,* 'Go to Rome,' the seat both of the priesthood and the empire. Again, expounding these words, 'Who is a faithful servant and wise, whom his master hath made ruler over his house?' he

Jer. 1. 10.

Rev. 19. 16.

1 Pet. 2. 9.

Luk. 5. 4.

Mat. 24. 45.

[m] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 4 A.]

[n] Innocent. III. in Festo. D. Sylvest. Papæ Serm. i. [See note 4 B.]

[o] In Fest. SS. Petri et Pauli, Serm. ii. [See note 4 C.]

applieth them to St. Peter; and therefore thus testifieth of himself; 'Of truth, I am appointed over this family; but who am I, to sit higher than kings and to hold the throne of glory? *Mihi namque dicitur in prophetâ, etc.;* For to me it is said in the prophet, I have appointed thee over nations and kingdoms, that thou mayst pluck up, and root out, and destroy, and throw down, and build, and plant[p].' And a little after; 'You see, who is this servant, even the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the Christ of the Lord, the God of Pharaoh; one placed in the midst betwixt God and man; short of God, but beyond mán; less than God, but greater than man.' Likewise from St. Peter's walking on the water, he maketh this inference. 'Forasmuch,' saith he, 'as many waters are many people, and the congregations of waters are the sea; in that St. Peter did walk upon the waters of the sea, he did demonstrate his power over all the world[q].' Jer. I. 10.

Further, this Innocentius having written a malapert letter to the emperor of Constantinople, his majesty, in answer of it, putteth him in mind how St. Peter commandeth all men to be subject to kings[r]; whereunto the pope replied, saying, [1 Pet. 2. 13.]

312 that St. Peter wrote so to his own subjects, and did not therein include himself; and that moreover he might not only have remembered that it was not said to any king, but to a priest, 'Behold I have placed thee over nations and kingdoms,' and so followeth the words of the text; but likewise, that as God made two lights in the firmament of heaven, a greater and a less, the one for the day, the other for the night; so for the firmament of the universal Church He made two dignities, the pontifical and the regal; the pontifical resembling the sun, which is the great light, and the regal the moon, which is the less light; to the end that thereby it might be known that there is as great difference[s] betwixt pontifical bishops and kings, as there is betwixt the sun and the moon. [Jer. I. 10.] [Gen. I. 16.]

But here we must a little digress, to observe that this pope,

[p] In Consecrat. Rom. Pontif., Serm. ii. [See note 4 D.]

[q] Innocent. Patriarch. Constant. Epist. Decret., lib. ii. [See note 4 E.]

[r] Innocentius Tertius Imperatori Constant. [See note 4 F.]

[s] [there is a great difference. *D.*]

BOOK III.

being swoln as big as the sun, cast his beams, not only into England and scorched king John exceedingly about the year 1212, by thundering against him and interdicting the kingdom, and by exciting his subjects to rebellion and treason, the weapons of those bishops; but likewise fired Otho the emperor out of the empire, by raising up against him Frederick the Second[t]. And when he had played these two feats, amongst many other, he held a council at Lateran, anno 1215, wherein, to strengthen such traitorous proceedings, he caused it to be ordained, as it is pretended, 'that if any temporal lord, being admonished by the Church, should not purge his country from heresy, the metropolitan and other comprovincial bishops should excommunicate him; and if within a year he did not give satisfaction in that behalf, the same should be signified to the bishop of Rome, that so he, from thenceforward, might denounce his vassals absolved from their fidelity unto him, and expose his land to Catholics, to be, without contradiction, by them possessed[u].' Upon this canon, many in these days do much rely; although indeed it was but a project, amongst many other, to have been concluded in that assembly; wherein nothing could be clearly determined, saith one of their writers[x], because by wars it was broken off; which the pope labouring to suppress, died in that journey.

And now we return from whence we digressed; and leaving Innocentius, do address ourselves to Boniface the Eighth, who had as great dexterity as his said predecessor in expounding of the Scriptures. For whereas the Apostles, upon a mistaking of Christ's meaning, where He bade them provide bags and scrips for themselves, and that he who wanted a sword should sell his coat and buy one; they answered, saying, Lord, we have two swords; this pope inferreth[y], there is in the Church a spiritual sword and a temporal; and that consequently they are both at the commandment of the bishops of Rome. Also to make the matter more clear touching the temporal sword, which should rule the world in all temporal

Luk. 22. 36, 38.

[t] Matth. Paris in Johan. Abbas Ursperg. Genebr. Chronol. Plat. in Innoc. III. [See note 4 I.]

[u] Concil. Lateran. can. 3. Oper. Innoc. tom. i. [See note 4 H.]

[x] Platin. in Innoc. III. [See note 4 I.]

[y] Extrav. de Majoritate et Obed. Unam sanctam. [See note 4 J.]

causes, he, saith Boniface, that shall deny that St. Peter had this temporal sword, doth not well understand Christ's words, when He bade St. Peter, after he had cut off Malchus his ear, that he should put up his sword. Again; whereas the Apostle doth teach us that the spiritual man judgeth all things, but is judged by none, this good bishop doth ingross these words to the only use of the popes; and thereupon concludeth that they have power to judge and censure all earthly powers and authorities, but are themselves exempted from the checks and censures of any, as being only subject to God and to His judgment. And again; that the spiritual authority may institute and judge the terrestrial, it is verified by the prophecy of Jeremy, 'Behold, I have placed thee this day over nations and kingdoms;' for the perverting of which portion of Scripture both this pope and Innocentius the 314 Third, with all the popes that since have followed, were and are much beholding to Adrian the Fourth; he being the first[z], for aught we find, that so did overstrain it. Lastly, that he might imitate, as he seemeth, the governor of the feast in the Gospel, that brought forth his best wine in the end of the feast; and likewise such skilful rhetoricians as commonly do build their principal conclusions upon their most pinching arguments; his Holiness relying upon the Scriptures, because it is not said, 'In the beginnings;' but, 'In the beginning God made heaven and earth;' therefore except we will say with the Manichees that God did not Himself make all things, but that there was also another Creator as well as He, it must needs be confessed that there is but one, viz. St. Peter's successor, that is the chief and principal ruler of all the world; and so he cometh to his irrefragable conclusion, 'We declare, we define, and we pronounce, that it is of the necessity of salvation for all human creatures to be subject to the bishop of Rome.'

BOOK III.

1 Cor. 2. 15.

[Jer. 1. 10.]

John 2. [10.]

Gen. 1. 1.

We may not therefore marvel that having thus notably made perfect the rough platform drawn out by Gregory the Seventh, rubbed over by Hadrian the Fourth, and amended by Innocentius the Third, of so infinite a sovereignty, if he, the said Boniface, to make the honour and glory more con-

[z] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 4 K.]

BOOK III.

spicuous and memorable to all posterity, after he had thrice refused to yield the crown of the empire to Albertus Austriacus, came forth one day amongst the people to be admired of them with a sword by his side, and a crown upon his head; saying that he, and none but he, was Cæsar, Augustus, emperor, and lord of the world[a]. It had been plain dealing, if for the better strengthening of this his greatness, he had alleged the words in the Gospel for the honour of his lord paramount, 'All these will I give thee,' because he did so worthily by his said proceedings magnify his name and authority.

Mat. 4. 9.

PLACET EIS.
JO. OVERALL.

CHAP. X.

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We have hitherto followed the bishops of Rome through many windings, from their mean and militant condition like to their brethren, unto their glorious estate, and, as we may say, triumphant. We found them at the first little better than their master, Who had not a place where to lay His head; but now they are, as we see, become Cæsars, emperors, and lords of all the world. It was long since very well said[b], by a good friend of that see[c], *Excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Romani pontificis supra alias ecclesias;* 'The excellency of the Roman empire did lift up the papacy above other churches.' Which exaltation and advancement of those bishops, he might well have added, hath been, as elsewhere we have said, the very bane and canker-worm of the empire itself, by their sucking out of it, for the strengthening of themselves, the juice and those vital spirits whereby formerly the vigour and glory of it did subsist, and all by rebellion and treason under the pretence of religion, and through their false glosses, applications, and violent inforce-

[Mat. 8. 20.]

[a] Joan. Marius de Schism. part ii. cap. 18. Carion. Chronica. [See note 1 L.]

[b] [long since said. *D.*]

[c] Gab. Biel. Expos. Can. Miss. Lect. 23. ex Eusebio. [See note 1 M.]

ments to a wrong sense of the sacred Scriptures. Wherein although they had an especial faculty, yet they could never have so greatly prevailed as they did against such an estate as the empire was, nor against so many great kings and other princes that were not subject unto it, if they had not been upheld in all their said wicked courses by sundry their flatterers and parasites, who imitating their examples in perverting and wresting the Scriptures, did take upon them to make good and to justify whatsoever the said popes had
316 either done or said, were it never so impious, treacherous, or traitorous; as by that which followeth it will plainly appear.

About the year 1140, which was upon the point of fifty-eight years after Gregory the Seventh's death, *Theologia Scholastica sive Disputatrix*, the Scholastical, or brabbling Divinity, as one calleth it[d], began to peep into the world, when Peter Lombard writ his Books of Distinctions; and did not only himself thereby trouble the truth, as another saith[e], with the mud of questions and streams of opinions, but also set many men after him on work in writing long commentaries upon his said Distinctions, to the hatching of infinite oppositions and difficult perplexities. In which number Thomas of Aquine bare the greatest sway; who entering into this course about forty years after Innocentius the Third his days, and finding how Gregory the Seventh, Paschal the Second, Innocentius the Second, Adrian the Fourth, Alexander the Third, and the said Innocentius the Third, with divers other popes, had ruffled with the emperors, and what a hand they had gotten over the Scriptures, became the chiefest champion of a schoolman that Rome ever had. Out of these words, 'Of His fulness we have all received[f],' John 1. 16. he was able to collect that there is in the bishop of Rome the fulness of all graces. Again, because Christ, Whom he maketh bishop of Rome, may be called, as he saith, a King and a Priest, he thereof inferreth it not to be inconvenient that His successors should be so styled. Also, we know not how, but he hath found it out that when God said to Jeremy, 'I have set thee over nations and kingdoms,' He spake so [Jer. 1. 10.]

[d] Genebrard. Chron. [See note 4 N.]
[e] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 4 O.]
[f] Tho. Aquin. de Regimin. Principum, lib. iii. cap. 10. [See note 4 P.]

BOOK III.

unto him, *in personâ vicarii Christi,* 'in the person of Christ's vicar[g].' Furthermore, in that Aristotle saith[h], that the body hath his virtue and operation by the soul, he supposeth it must needs follow, that the jurisdiction of princes hath her being, virtue and operation from St. Peter and his successors. For further proof whereof, as fearing it would be thought insufficient that he had said before, he buckleth himself to certain facts of the popes and emperors; saying that Constantine did give the empire to Sylvester; that pope Adrian made Charles the Great emperor; and that likewise Otho the First was created emperor by pope Leo. But at the last he striketh this point dead; because, saith he, it is manifest that pope Zachary deposed the king of France, and absolved all his barons from their oath of fidelity; that Innocentius the Third took the empire from Otho the Fourth, and that Honorius, his next successor, dealt in like sort with Frederick the Second. And, as it were to make up all, speaking of the emperor's crowns, and the custom, as it seemeth, then in use, he saith that the emperor did receive a crown of gold from the bishop of Rome, and that the pope delivered it unto him with his foot, *in signum subjectionis suæ et fidelitatis Romanam ecclesiam,* 'thereby to teach him his subjection and loyalty to the church of Rome[i].'

But hitherto we have heard this great schoolman by way of discourse, wherein, peradventure, he is more remiss and dissolute than when he presseth his points logically, as the manner is in schools. We will therefore trace him a little in that path; if first we shall observe that it is his custom, when he handleth a question that doth concern the church of Rome, as soon as he hath propounded it, he first proceedeth with his *videtur quòd non,* and bringeth sometimes both Scriptures and Fathers for the negative part; his purpose still being to encounter them with his *sed contrà est,* 'but such or such a pope holdeth the contrary:' and then he cometh in first with his conclusion, and secondly with his *dicendum est:* wherein he so laboureth and bestirreth himself, as that always the said Scriptures and Fathers are

[g] Tho. Aquin. de Regimin. Principum, cap. 19.
[h] Cap. 10.
[i] Tho. Aquin. de Regimin. Principum, cap. 20. [See note 4 Q.]

wrung and enforced to yield to the pope. As for example, having propounded this question, 'Whether for apostasy
318 from the faith a prince do lose his dominion over his subjects, and so consequently, if he be excommunicated[k],' there being the same reason for the one that there is for the other, as two great cardinals do affirm[l], he falleth upon his *videtur*, saying, 'it seemeth that a prince for apostasy from the faith doth not lose his dominion over his subjects, but that they are still bound to obey him; for St. Ambrose saith that Julian the emperor though he were an apostata, yet had under him Christian soldiers, to whom when he said,—Bring forth your army for defence of the commonwealth, they obeyed him. Therefore for the apostasy of the prince, their subjects are not absolved from his dominion. Moreover, an apostata from the faith is an infidel; but some holy men are found faithfully to have served infidel masters, as Joseph did Pharaoh, Daniel Nebuchadnezzar, and Mardochee Assuerus; therefore for apostasy from the faith, it is not to be yielded but that such a prince must be obeyed by his subjects. *Sed contra est quod Gregorius Septimus dicit;* but Gregory the Seventh is of a contrary opinion, where he saith, We, keeping the statutes of our holy predecessors, do by our apostolick authority absolve from their oath those who are bound to excommunicate persons by fealty or the sacrament of an oath; and do by all means prohibit them that they keep not their fidelity unto them, until they come to satisfaction.' Whereupon Thomas concludeth that all apostatas are excommunicated, *sicut et hæretici,* as all heretics are; and that therefore their subjects are delivered from their obedience and oaths of fidelity unto such lords and princes; and so addeth his *dicendum est;* where dallying and shifting with his distinctions, the answer which he maketh to the words of St. Ambrose is this; 'At that time the Church,—being in her minority, had not the power to bridle princes; and that therefore she suffered the faithful to obey Julian the Apostata in those things *quæ nondum erant contra fidem,* which
319 were not then against faith; *ut majus periculum fidei vitaretur,* that the greater danger of faith might be eschewed.'

[k] 2a. 2æ. Quæst. 12. art. 2. [See note 4 R.]

[l] Card. Toledo. Card. Alanus.

BOOK III.

And the second objection he more slightly passeth over, saying that there is not the like reason of infidels and apostatas. And thus this great schoolman, relying upon the authority of Gregory the Seventh, had adventured to oppose himself against the examples alleged out of the Old Testament, against the practice of the primitive Church, and against the judgment of St. Ambrose, not caring how many thousands by this rebellious doctrine might come to destruction, so as the bishops of Rome might have the world at their commandment. We here omit how as Thomas and divers others writ many large volumes upon Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, his Distinctions; so afterwards, and especially of later times, books upon books have been published upon his, the said Thomas', works; all of them pursuing, as they come unto it, this seditious and traitorous doctrine so clerk-like handled by their master. Only we observe this great schoolman's conscience, how in labouring to shift off the truth maintained by St. Ambrose, he could pass over a lie in Gregory the Seventh, where he saith that in absolving of subjects from their oath of obedience, and in prohibiting them from performing their duties and fidelity towards their sovereigns, he followed the statutes of his holy predecessors; being himself the first that ever durst be so desperate; as also that he confesseth it was not in St. Ambrose his time *contra fidem* for subjects to obey their sovereigns, though they were either infidels or excommunicate; and likewise how thankfully the bishops of Rome accepted and approved this man's travails, so resolutely undertaken on their behalf. Urbanus the Fourth did so admire him[m], as he reputed his doctrine *veluti cœlitus delapsam*, 'as to have fallen from heaven.' Innocentius so admired both him and his great learning, *ut ei primum post canonicam Scripturam locum tribuere non dubitaverat*, 'as he doubteth not to give unto him and to his works above all other Fathers and writers[n], the next place after the canonical Scriptures: and John the Twenty-second made him a saint in the year 1329[o], about forty-nine years after his death.

[m] Aug. Hunnæ Epist. ad Pium V. in Sum. Aquinat. [See note 4 S.]

[n] [The words 'above all other Fathers and writers' are omitted in *D.*]

[o] Surius de Sanctorum Histor., tom. ii. Martii 7. [See note 4 T.]

He was born during the reign of Henry the Third, king of England; died about the second year of king Edward the First, and was canonized a saint in the time of king Edward the Second; so ancient is this chief pillar of popery. BOOK III.

PLACET EIS.

JO. OVERALL.

CHAP. XI.

Justinian[p] the emperor, about the year 533, did so contract the civil law as he brought it from almost two thousand books into fifty[q], besides some other which he added of his own. Howbeit shortly after, it grew out of use in Italy, by reason of the incursions of sundry barbarous nations, who, neglecting the imperial laws, did practise their own; till after almost six hundred years, that Lotharius Saxo, the emperor, about the year 1136[r] did revive again in that country and in other places also the ancient use and authority of it. Which course of the emperor did not much content, as it seemeth, the bishops of Rome, because it revived the memory of the ancient honour and dignity of the empire. Whereupon, very shortly after, Eugenius the Third[s] set Gratian in hand to compile a body of canon law, by contracting into one book the ancient constitutions ecclesiastical and canons of councils; that the state of the papacy might not in that behalf be inferior to the empire; which work the said Gratian performed and published in the days of Stephen
321 king of England, about the year 1151, terming the same *Concordia discordantium Canonum*, 'A Concord of disagreeing Canons.' Of whose great pains therein so by him taken, a learned man saith thus; *Gratianus ille jus pontificale dilaniavit atque confudit*[t]; 'that fellow Gratian did tear in pieces

[p] Genebr. Chronol. [See note 4 U.]

[q] [The remaining words of this sentence are added in the margin of *A.* in a different hand.]

[r] Abbas Ursperg. Carion. Chron. [See note 4 V.]

[s] Petr. Gregor. Partition. Juris Canon., lib. i. cap. 1. [See note 4 W.]

[t] Aventin. lib. vi. [See note 4 X.]

BOOK III.

the pontifical law and confound it;' the same being in our libraries sincere and perfect. But this testimony or any thing else to the contrary that might truly be objected against that book notwithstanding, the author's chief purpose being to magnify and extol the court of Rome, his said book got, we know not how, this glorious title, *Decretum aureum Divi Gratiani*[u], 'The Golden Decree of St. Gratian;' and he himself, as it appeareth, became, for the time, a saint for his pains.

Indeed he brake the ice to those that came after him, by devising the method which since hath been pursued, for the enlarging and growth of the said body, by some of the popes themselves. Gregory the Ninth, about the year 1236, and in the time of king Henry the Third[x], after sundry draughts made by Innocentius the Third[y], and others, of a second volume of the canon law, caused the same to be perused, enlarged, and by his authority to be published; and being divided into five books, is entituled, The Decretals of Gregory the Ninth. Boniface the Eighth, the great Augustus, as before we have shewed, commanded likewise another collection to be made of such constitutions and decrees as had either been omitted by Gregory, or were made afterwards by other succeeding bishops and councils; and this collection is called, *Sextus Liber Decretalium*, 'The Sixth Book of the Decretals;' and was set out to the world in the year 1298, in the reign of king Edward the First. Clement the Fifth, in like manner, having bestowed great travail upon a fourth work, comprehending five books, died before he could finish it[z]; but his successor, John the Twenty-second, did, in the year 1317, and in the time of king Edward the Second, make 322
perfect and publish the same work of Clement, and gave it the name of The Clementines[a]. Afterwards also came out another volume, termed The Extravagants; because it did not only comprehend certain degrees of the said John the Twenty-second, but likewise sundry other constitutions made by other popes, both before and after him, which flew abroad uncertainly in many men's hands, and were therefore swept

[u] Decret. Grat. impress. Paris. anno 1510. [See note 4 Y.]
[x] Petr. Greg. ib.
[y] Genebr. Chronol. [See note 1 Z.]
[z] Procem. Clementin.
[a] In fine Clem. [See note 5 A.]

up and put together after the year 1478, into one bundle, called Extravagant Decretals[b], which came to light *Post Sextum*, 'after the Sixth.' By which title the compiler of this work would gladly, as it seemeth, have had it accounted the seventh book of the Decretals; but it never attaining that credit, the same by Sixtus Quintus his assent is attributed to a collection of certain other constitutions made by Peter Matthew[c], of divers popes from the time of Sixtus the Fourth, who died in the year 1484. To all these books mentioned, there have been lately added three great volumes of Decretal Epistles, from St. Clement to Gregory the Seventh his days; also a huge heap of the pope's bulls, from the said Gregory's time to Pius Quintus; and lastly, no short sum of papal constitutions set forth a little before the said seventh book of the Decretals. So as all these volumes being put together, they exceed as far the body of the civil law, as the usurped dignity of the papacy exceedeth the mean estate of the empire.

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JO. OVERALL.

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CHAP. XII.

We have in the former chapter made mention of the new and later sort of decretals, bulls, and constitutions, not knowing what credit the popes will bestow upon them hereafter; and therefore leaving them to their chance, we have thought it expedient to return to the ancient canon law, revived and approved not long since by Gregory the Thirteenth, where we find a new ocean of questions, disputations, quarrels and babblements. For as it happened with the civil law, that it no sooner was again renewed and restored by Lotharius[d], but sundry great doctors began to write many books and commentaries upon it, to explain it, and to discuss the difficulties

[b] Extrav. de pœnit. et remiss. Etsi. Intitul. Extravag. [See note 5 B.]

[c] Petrus Matthæus in summa Constitut. præfat. ad Sixtum Quintum. [See note 5 C.]

[d] Genebr. Chron. [See note 5 A.]

BOOK III.

which did arise in it; so fell it out with the canon law, the number being almost infinite of glossographers that made short notes upon it, and of canonists who set forth large discourses for the salving of contradictions and of many other absurdities. Amongst all which lawyers, doctors, glossographers, and canonists, assisted, as every man's fancy led him, with many schoolmen and sundry divines, such as they were, there did shortly after grow many great controversies and endless oppositions. The civilians of Italy, perceiving by the body of the civil law how far the empire was dejected from that royal estate and majesty which once it enjoyed, and finding also that many of the best reasons in their judgments, which the popes, the canon law, the glossographers, the canonists, the schoolmen and many more, had brought to prove that the pope ought to have jurisdiction over all the churches in the world; (as, that bees had a captain, that beasts a leader, that one is fit to end controversies, that a monarchy is the best form of government, and that one must be over all to receive appeals, to give direction unto all, to punish all rebellious persons, and many such like[e],) were fully as forcible and strong to prove that there ought to be one emperor over all the world; they did very stiffly and resolutely insist upon that point, and went so roundly to work in it, by force of the said reasons and with many other arguments, that some of them would needs have it heresy for any man to hold the contrary; alleging a text for their purpose, where it is said, that 'in those days there came a commandment from Augustus Cæsar, that all the world should be taxed.' 324

Lu. 2. 1.

Against those Italian civilians ultramontane, the civilians on this side the Alps, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and of other countries, opposed themselves[f] with all their force; not in any dislike of the honour due to the emperors, but because otherwise their masters, the kings of France, of Spain, and of divers other kingdoms, who had freed themselves long before from the empire, should be brought again, *de jure* at the least, by the foresaid reasons to be subject unto it. Whereupon, in confutation of them, and to strengthen their own

[e] Dominic. Soto de Jure et Justit. lib. iv. Quæst. 4. Artic. 2. Barth. Cassaneus in Catalog. Glor. Mundi, par. 5. consid. 29. Navarr. in cap. Novit. [See note 5 B.]

[f] Barth. Cassan. ibid. Ferd. Vasquez. Controv. lib. i. cap. 20, 21. [See note 5 C.]

assertion, they alleged that one bee was never the captain BOOK IV. over all bees, nor one crane the general of all cranes, nor one beast the leader of all beasts; that it was against the law of God, the law of nature and of nations; that there were never any monarchs so great, but there were in the world many kings who were never subject unto them; that the place of Scripture is to be understood of all the places in the world that were then under the Romans, and ought to be extended no further; that a monarchy is then best, when it is contained within such limits as it may well be governed; that all monarchies hitherto had ever their bounds, which were well known; that it is impossible for all men to fetch justice from
325 one place, or to receive thence any benefit by their appeals; and so after many other such arguments they do conclude, that to think that the emperor ought to have the government of all the world is a vain, an absurd and an untrue conceit.

Now we are to consider how in all these troubled disputations and oppositions, the glossographers, canonists, schoolmen and parasitical divines, that were sworn to the pope, behaved themselves. As soon as the civil law began to flourish, as being read by the emperor's commandment in sundry universities, Gregory the Ninth[g] began to smell what was like to come of it, and therefore did afterwards forbid it to be read in Paris, being the especial place then[h], as it seemeth, where it was most esteemed. But as touching the point so controverted, when these champions of the popes saw how the matter went, and that either they must hold that there ought to be but one emperor over all kingdoms in the world, or else be forced to confess that there ought not to be one pope over all the churches in the world, the same reason being as pregnant for the one as for the other, they joined with the Italian civilians[i] that there ought to be but one emperor. Marry, how? Forsooth, remembering Gregory the Seventh, Adrian the Fourth, Innocentius the Third, and that great Augustus Cæsar, Boniface the Eighth, and divers other popes, how emperor-like they had demeaned themselves and what great authority they chal-

[g] Carion. Chronic. [See note 5 D.]
[h] Genebr. Chronol. [See note 5 E.]
[i] Ferdin. Vasquez. ut suprà. Barth. Cassan. ut suprà. [See note 5 F.]

BOOK III.

lenged; the said pontifical champions fell to this issue, that the pope being Christ's vicar, who was 'Lord of lords, and King of kings,' it must needs follow that the pope was likewise that one emperor who was to govern over all the world in temporal causes, as he did all the churches in the world in ecclesiastical causes. And thereupon they reasoned in this sort; Christ is Lord of all the world; but the pope is Christ's 326
vicar on earth; therefore the pope is lord of all the world. Again, the emperor is the pope's vicar and his successor in all temporal causes; therefore the emperor is lord of all the world, all temporal jurisdiction being habitually in the pope, and from him derived to the emperor. And many of the Italian lawyers, especially such as mixed their studies with the canon law, were well enough content, that so as the emperor might be lord of all, how and whence he had it, whether from God or from the pope, they stood indifferent. But for all this, the French and Spanish lawyers stuck to their tackling, and were peremptory that neither the pope nor the emperor had any such universal dominion over all the world. And divers likewise of the said Italian doctors that were not too much addicted to the canon law, were not afraid to hold and maintain that the emperor held as well from God the authority which he had, as the pope did his papacy. Howbeit such was the clamour of the canonists, of the glossographers, and of the schoolmen and divines, that took their part in the pope's behalf, upon whom all their preferment, credit, and countenance did depend, as they would needs by force carry the bell away; though their opposites, each of them, were very confident that the common opinion swayed with their sides, more standing for them than were against them.

We have before briefly touched the chief grounds and reasons whereupon the civil lawyers, divided amongst themselves, did insist; and therefore that we may not seem partial, we thought it fit to hear the canonists with their adherents, whilst they tell us that all the world is the pope's, at his disposition, as well the emperor as any other the meanest person whosoever; 'Because (1.) that Christ had all power given Him. (2.) That the pope blesseth the emperor. (3.) 327
That the bishops of Rome do anoint them. (4.) That the Church triumphant hath but one prince. (5.) That Inno-

centius told the king of France that he did not intend to abate his jurisdiction; whereby it is collected, that if he had pleased, he might have so done[k]. (6.) That in the vacancy of the empire the pope hath the government of it. (7.) That the pope translated the empire from the Grecians to the Germans. (8.) That the papacy exceedeth the empire as far as gold doth lead, or as men do beasts. (9.) That pope Nicholas saith, Christ gave to St. Peter, the key-carrier of eternal life, *jura terreni simul et cælestis imperii;* 'the authority both of the earthly and of the heavenly empire[l].' (10.) That *optimum optima decent;* but the monarchical government is best, and so fittest for the pope. (11.) That no man giveth that to another which he hath not himself: but the pope giveth licence to choose the emperor and to govern in temporal causes. (12.) That as the body is for the soul, so temporal government is for the spiritual. (13.) That reason teacheth us, when an office is committed to any, that also is thought to be committed without the which it cannot be executed; but except the bishop of Rome may rule all the world, he cannot discharge the office that is committed unto him. And lastly, to omit infinite such like collections, this argument is reserved, after many other, by a great clerk, that it might strike home, viz. because it is defined by Boniface the Eighth, that no man can be saved except he be subject to the bishop of Rome. Which argument is held so strong as it carrieth with it divers other of little less force than itself, as that St. Peter had a sword, because Christ bade him to put up
328 his sword. (2.) *Ecce duo gladii,* 'Behold here are two [Lu. 22. 38.] swords;' one sword must be under another; the temporal under the spiritual. (3.) It is not agreeable to the general course of things that they should have all equally their immediate being. (4.) The spiritual power ought to institute the temporal. (5.) The 'spiritual man judgeth all things;' [1 Cor. 2. 15.] and therefore what Catholic can deny that the bishop of Rome hath both swords, the one actually, the other habitually, to be drawn at his commandment[m].'

BOOK III.

We have not quoted the several authors that are parties

[k] [Originally written, 'that if he list, he could abate his jurisdiction.' The alteration is made in the margin of the MS. by the original scribe.]

[l] Stanisl. Orichovius in Chimærâ. [See note 5 G.]

[m] Navarr. Relect. c. Novit. in 3. Notabil. [See note 5 H.]

BOOK III.

unto the particulars which we have touched in this chapter; because twenty such margents would not contain them. Only we refer ourselves, in that behalf, unto these few which we have noted and selected from the rest; unto which number if we shall add John of Paris, Bellarmin, and Covarruvias, they[n] altogether will furnish a man with divers sorts of other authors, such as they are, who have disputed these points at large, and in that manner as we are driven into a great admiration that any men of understanding could be so sottish either to write as they have done, or to give any credit to such ridiculous janglings; or rather indeed that ever Christian kings and princes should have endured such impostors so long to seduce their subjects, and presumptuously to shake and dishonour the royal authority given them from God to have bridled such insolency.

PLACET EIS.

JO. OVERALL.

CHAP. XIII.

Notwithstanding that the bishops of Rome, especially since Gregory the Seventh's time, have ruffled and tyrannized, as before we have shewed, and that still they have been supported in all their wicked attempts, partly by stirring up subjects to rebel against their sovereigns, and partly by the canonists, schoolmen, monks, friars, hirelings, and flatterers; yet their hypocrisy, pride, covetousness and ambition, were never so closely covered and cloaked with St. Peter's name, and sundry other falsehoods, wringings and wrestings, but that their nakedness in that behalf, with all their deformities, were clearly discovered by the wiser sort; and there were always some that spared not, as there was occasion for the discharging of their consciences, to speak the truth. When the said Gregory did so proudly encounter with the emperor Henry the Fourth[o], he was condemned for a perjured

[n] Johan. de Paris. tract. de potest. Regiâ et Papali. Bellarm. de sum. Pont., lib. v. cap. i. Didac. Covarruvias. 2. part. Relect. § 9. [See note 5 I.]

[o] Abbas Urspergens. an. Aventin., lib. v. [See note 5 J.]

person and deposed from his place by a council held at Worms in the year 1076, by all the bishops of Germany almost, saving those of Saxony, who in his quarrel were become traitors to the empire. And afterwards also[p], in the year 1080, the said Gregory was more roughly handled in another council of thirty bishops at Brixia; wherein he was declared to be a perturber of the Christian empire, a sower of discord, a protector of perjury, a murderer, a necromancer, one possessed with a wicked spirit, a man altogether unworthy of the papacy, and therefore to be deprived and expelled.

Henry the Fifth[q] with his council did easily discern the packings both of Paschal the Second and of his predecessors; when he complained of their thrusting him into arms against his father; and how *genitore oppresso*, 'his father being overborne,' they sought likewise his suppression and overthrow. He charged them with great unthankfulness in that, being made rich by the emperors, they were never satisfied, but under a religious pretence of ecclesiastical liberty desired still more and more, and that by shaking off from their shoulders all duties and subjection, they did affect the empire itself and would not cease until they had attained it[r]. With this the emperor's plainness the said Paschal being incensed, made certain unlawful decrees against the said emperor; which decrees the divines of Fruxinum, who were accounted the most learned men in all Germany, did condemn and reverse, as being contrary to the word of God. Upon the insolent speeches of Adrian the Fourth's messenger, one that was present had slain the said messenger if the emperor had not stayed him. And two archbishops thereupon did write to Rome, accusing the priests there of pertinacy, pride, covetousness and faction against the empire; requiring them to give Adrian their pope some better counsel[s].

Frederick the Second, in one of his letters to the princes of Christendom, in defence of himself against Gregory the Ninth, doth likewise most notably describe the ambitious aspiring hearts of the bishops of that see; affirming that

[p] Urspergens. an. 1080. Aventin., lib. v. [See note 5 K.]

[q] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 5 L.]

[r] ['had it ended.' D.]

[s] Aventin., lib. vi. [See note 5 M.]

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they sought the overthrow of the empire and to bring all men in servitude under them, to the end that they themselves might thereby be more feared and reverenced than Almighty God[t]. But the archbishop of Juvavia, now called Saltzburg[u], in an oration which he made in a council of state during the said emperor's reign, exceedeth in this argument; where he affirmeth that those bishops, *libidine dominandi*, did trouble the whole world, *audendo, fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo*[x]. Also Otho *regulus Boiorum*, the prince of Bavaria, in the days of Innocentius the Fourth, told the bishops that joined with the pope, that as they grew to their greatness by discord, so being overcome with desire of honour, in stirring up wars, they were worse than Turks or Saracens. Moreover in the days of Honorius the Fourth, the bishop of Tulie, when the pope would have set the emperor in war against the French, and under that pretence required by his legate, of all the clergy in Germany, *non decimas sed quartas*, 'not the tenth, but the fourth part of their livings,' moved the said clergy and many of the state then present, that they should no longer submit themselves unto the Romish vultures, who had very long tyrannized, and laboured nothing more than to thrust princes into war one against another; adding thereunto, that the pope had armed the Scythians, Arabians, and Turks, against them; and that he verily thought that the pope loved them better than he did the Germans.

And what men thought[y], when they durst speak, of the bishops of Rome and his priests, in the days of Nicholas the Fourth, it may appear by the words of a nobleman, one Menardus, earl of Tyrol, as we conceive, when he said, 'that he would never make himself a scorn to such effeminate antichrists and prodigious eunuchs; who being indeed,' saith he, 'our servants, do fight for superiority, and would domineer over us that are their lords. They are worse than Turks, Saracens, Tartars, and Jews; and do more injury to Christian simplicity.' *Dominationem arripiunt*, 'they will by

[t] Matth. Paris. in Hen. III. Aventin., lib. 7. [See note 5 N.]

[u] [The words, 'now called Saltzburg,' are added above the line.]

[x] Munster Cosmogr., lib. iii. Aventin., lib. iii. [See note 5 O.]

[y] Aventin. ut supra. [See note 5 P.]

force overrule all.' In the time of Ludovicus Bavarus[z] the BOOK
emperor, although three popes successively opposed themselves against him with all the mischievous practices that they could devise, yet many learned men, both divines and civil lawyers, did justify the emperor's proceedings, and con-
332 demn the popes. And some wrote books to that effect, saying to the emperor, *Tu nos pugnis, ense, ferro,* &c.; 'Do thou deliver us from the pope's servitude by force.' *Nos te lingua,* &c.; 'And we will revenge our quarrel with our tongues, our pens, our letters, our style, our books and words[a].' And thereupon accordingly, as their own author saith[b], they proved by the testimony both of divine and human laws, *Joannem libidine dominandi insanire,* 'that John the pope was grown mad through his desire of principality and sovereignty.' Also the emperor himself[c], about the year 1324, speaking in scorn of the said John the Twenty-Second, saith, that the pope, in taking upon him to be both Augustus and Pontifex, shewed himself therein to be *monstrum biceps,* 'a monster with two heads;' and that it was apparent by divinity and by all laws, that the bishop of Rome had no interest to both these dignities. Many notable things are contained in divers of this emperor's letters and decrees, as also in the said orations and writings above here mentioned, which are very worthy to be perused and made more known than they are; all of them labouring to suppress that insolency of the bishops of Rome, in challenging to themselves the right of the empire and the authority to confirm the same as they thought good; making the emperors thereby their vicars or substitutes.

But it is most of all worthy the diligent observation, that in these later times, when the grossness of popery hath been more throughly looked into and scanned, the Jesuits themselves are grown to be ashamed of the said most absurd and ridiculous challenge. And therefore Cardinal Bellarmin[d] hath written five chapters against it, wherein first he distinguisheth them from Catholic divines who maintained that

[z] Marsil. Patavin. Jo. Gandaven. Luit. de Berbenburg. Andr. Bishop of Fruxin. Ulric. Hangenor. [See note 5 Q.]

[a] Dante Aligerius. Will. Ockam. Bona Gratiæ. Mich. Cesenates Anton. Patavin. [See note 5 R.]

[b] Aventin., lib. vii. [See note 5 S.]

[c] Ibidem. [See note 5 T.]

[d] Bell. de Rom. Pont., lib. v. cap. 1. [See note 5 U.]

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opinion; and then setting down these three propositions as sure grounds of truth, viz. *papam non esse dominum totius mundi;* 'that the pope is not lord of all the world;' *papam non esse dominum totius mundi Christiani;* 'that the pope is not lord of all the Christian world;' *papam non habere ullam temporalem jurisdictionem directe;* 'that the pope had no temporal jurisdiction directly;' he confuteth their arguments who are of another judgment. Where he shaketh off, very lightly, the chief places of Scripture and some other testimonies whereupon the said arguments are principally grounded; as that of two swords; and where Christ saith, [Mat. 28. 18.] 'All power is given to Me in heaven and earth;' and the testimony likewise of pope Nicholas, affirming that Christ committed to Peter, the key-carrier of eternal life, *terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura,* 'the interest both of the earthly and heavenly empire;' which he casteth away, either as an assertion forged by Gratian, the same being not found in the said pope's writings, or else to have another sense, this, as it is urged, being against the said pope's direct words in one of his epistles.

His first proposition, 'that the pope is not Lord of all the world,' he justifieth in respect, (1.) That infidels are not his sheep. (2.) That he cannot judge infidels. (3.) That princes, infidels, are true and supreme princes of their kingdoms; because dominion is neither founded in grace nor faith, as it appeareth, because God approved the kingdoms of the gentiles, both in the Old and New Testament. And upon these said reasons he inferreth it to be a ridiculous conceit for any man to think that God gave to the pope any right over the kingdoms of the whole world; considering that He never gave unto him ability to use any such right.

And for the confirmation of his second proposition, 'that the pope is not lord of all the Christian world;' he proveth the same by these reasons. (1.) Because if he had any such dominion, by the law of God, the same ought to appear 334
either in the Scriptures or by some apostolical traditions; but it appeareth by neither; *ergo.* And his second reason is this; Christ neither did nor doth take kingdoms from any to whom they do appertain, but doth rather establish them: therefore when the king becometh a Christian, he doth not

lose his terrene kingdoms which he lawfully before enjoyed; but he obtaineth a new right to the everlasting kingdom; otherwise, saith he, the benefit received by Christ should be hurtful to kings, and grace should destroy nature. Also he confuteth the ordinary distinction amongst the schoolmen and canonists, who affirm that the pope hath both powers in himself, but doth commit the execution of the civil power unto others; and writeth thus; 'Whatsoever emperors have, they have it from Christ; and therefore, saith he, the bishop of Rome either may take from kings and emperors the execution of their authority, as being himself the highest king and emperor, or he may not: if he may, then is he greater than Christ; if he may not, *ergo*, he hath not in truth any regal power.' And he concludeth this point with this observation; 'As the sun did not institute or make the moon, but God Himself; so likewise the empire and the pontifical dignity are not one, neither doth the one absolutely depend upon the other.' BOOK III.

Lastly, to prove his third proposition, 'That the pope hath no temporal jurisdiction directly,' he reasoneth in this sort. Christ, as He was man, whilst He lived here upon earth, neither took nor would take any temporal dominion; but the bishop of Rome is Christ's vicar and doth represent Christ unto us, *qualis erat dùm hîc inter homines viveret*, 'as He was, whilst He lived here amongst men;' therefore the bishop of Rome hath no temporal dominion. Now before
335 he comes to the proof of the first proposition of this argument, and that he might make the ground thereof more plain, he saith, (1.) That Christ was always, as He is the Son of God, the King and Lord of all creatures, in the same sort that the Father is. (2.) That His kingdom is eternal and divine, and neither taketh away the kingdoms of men, nor can agree to the bishops of Rome. (3.) That Christ, as He was man, was the spiritual King of all men, and had most ample spiritual power over all men, as well faithful as infidels. (4.) That this spiritual power of Christ, shall, after the day of judgment, be sensible and manifest. (5.) That the glory of this kingdom did begin in our Head, Christ, when He arose from the dead.

Upon which grounds he maketh these inferences. (1.) That

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the said spiritual kingdom of Christ, the glory whereof began after His resurrection, is not a temporal kingdom, such as are the kingdoms of our kings. (2.) That the said spiritual kingdom of Christ over all men cannot be communicated to the bishop of Rome, because it presupposeth the resurrection. (3.) That Christ, as He was man, if He had list and had thought it expedient for Him, could have taken upon Him a kingly authority, but would not; and therefore neither did receive any such authority, neither had not only the execution of any dominion or kingdom, but not the authority or power of any kingdom temporal. And so he cometh to the proof of his said proposition, saying, that if Christ had any such temporal kingdom, He had it either by hereditary succession, or by election, or by the law of war, or by the especial gift of God; but He had it by none of these four ways; *ergo*, He had no such dominion. For the proof of all which particulars he taketh good pains, and then cometh to 335
the explication of these words in his second proposition of the first argument concerning this point, viz. That the pope doth represent Christ unto us as He was, when He lived here amongst men; and saith, (1.) We cannot attribute unto the pope those offices which Christ hath, either as He is God, or as He is an immortal and glorified man; but those which He had as He was a mortal man. (2.) Neither hath the pope all the power which Christ had, as He was a mortal man. For He, because He was both God and man, had a certain power which men call the power of excellency, whereby He ruled both faithful and infidels; but the faithful only are committed to the pope. (3.) Christ had authority to institute Sacraments and to work miracles by His own authority, which the pope hath not. (4.) Christ had power to absolve men from their sins without the Sacraments, which the pope cannot do.

[e] With Bellarmin, (that he may not bear this great burthen upon his own shoulders and undergo alone the envy thereof ensuing,) an army of writers, both old and new, do concur. He hath himself set down the names of some; and for his better supportation we have thought it fit to assist him with

[e] [The paragraph which here commences, and ends with the words 'you dispute of,' is written on a separate leaf.]

two more, viz. the archbishop of Compsa, one Ambrosius Catharinus, and Boëtius Epon, a count-palatine; whose book of Heroical and Ecclesiastical Questions, printed at Doway, 1588, a place wholly jesuited, is greatly approved by Tho. Stapleton, our countryman, and Balthazar Seulin, the dean of Amate, a licentiate of the pope's law, and the ordinary visitor or allower of such books as are thought meet to be published. *Non desunt plerique,* &c.; 'There are many,' saith Catharinus[f], 'who are not content with that, that is sufficient,' *ne dicam nimiùm,* 'that I may not say it is too
337 much, who either to flatter, or of too gross simplicity, do affirm that the temporal dominion of the whole world doth belong of right to the bishop of Rome, as being Christ's chief vicar in earth, in that Christ said, All things are given to Me of My Father.' *Verùm ridicula hæc profectò, quæ neque ipsimet pontifices auderent asserere:* 'But assuredly these are ridiculous toys; the popes themselves dare not for shame so affirm.' *Quòd autèm papa sit vicarius Christi,* &c.; 'For that the pope is called Christ's vicar, what force hath it to persuade us that all the kingdoms in the world are committed to be governed by him in temporal causes? Nay,' saith he, 'it rather inducеth us to believe that they are not committed unto him:' *quoniam Christus abjecit ea, et ut homo erat, in mundo non habuit;* 'because He cast them from Him, and as He was man, had them not Himself.' And the said Boëtius Epon[g], having set down the reasons why some have maintained the pope's said universal dominion in temporal causes, and given a touch of the Jews' error, and of the Apostles' oversight in that behalf, he saith thus, *Neque nos forsitan Judæis multò vel meliores vel minùs inepti sumus, dum,* &c.; 'And we perhaps are not either much better or less foolish than the Jews, whilst we do ridiculously mingle the temporal and earthly kingdom or empire with the kingdom ecclesiastical or spiritual, by wresting to that purpose the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, which do nothing less than make either Christ, or Peter, or the pope, the temporal monarch, either of the whole world, or of the Christian world.' *Digni profectò* &c., 'We are certainly worthy of this

[f] Catharin. in Ep. ad Roman. c. 13 [See note 5 V.]

[g] Heroic. qu. 5. [See note 5 W.]

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answer of Christ;' *Nescitis quid petatis, quidve disputetis:* 'you know not what you ask, nor what you dispute of.'

And thus it appeareth what opposition there hath been ever since the days of Gregory the Seventh against the insolency of the bishops of Rome in challenging to themselves such eminent and sovereign authority temporal over all kings and emperors; and how in these later times, through the light of the Gospel, men of any good parts or modesty, though otherwise our adversaries, are driven for shame to acknowledge the truth, notwithstanding all the vain and ridiculous conceits and janglings, either of the said glossographers, canonists, or schoolmen; or the false, proud, and insolent vauntings of the popes themselves from the said Gregory the Seventh, pretending themselves to be Cæsars and emperors[h]. It is true that Bellarmin labourcth afterward to advance the pope's authority in temporal causes indirectly; thereby to bring them so far within the compass of the pope's reach as that he may depose them, if they hinder the good of the Church. But his dealing herein is very indirect, that we use his own word, and cannot salve his former conclusions and inferences; whereby he and the rest have so wounded the bishops of that see and disclosed their nakedness, as all their adherents will never be able to cure them.

[1]PLACET EIS.

Hæc omnia suprascripta ter lecta sunt in domo inferiori convocationis in frequenti synodo cleri, et unanimi consensu comprobata. Ità testor,

JOHANNES OVERALL, Prolocutor.

April. 16, 1606.

[h] Henr. Quodl. 6. qu. 23. Jo. Driedo lib. ii. de Lib. Christ. cap. 2. Jo. de Turrecremata Sum. lib. ii. 113. et seq. Alb. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. lib. v. Tho. Waldens. lib. ii. Doct. Fid. art. 3. cap. 76, 77, 78. Petrus de Palude, de Potest. Ecclesiastica. Cajetan. in Apol. c. 13. ad 6. Fr. Victoria, de Pot. Eccles. q. 2. Dominic. à Soto in 4. Distinct. 25. q. 2. Art. 1. [See note 5 X.]

[1] [The rest of the page is in the handwriting of Overall.]

NOTES.

Note A, p. 7.

[Facta est terrarum orbis divisio inter filios et nepotes Noah.]—Func. Chron. [p. 9. edit. Witteb. 1578.]

[Νώε γὰρ σωθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύμβιος σὺν τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τρισὶ νύμφαις, μόνος διαιρῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, τῷ Σὴμ, καὶ Χὰμ, καὶ Ἰάφεθ διεῖλε.]—S. Epiphan. Adv. Hær. [lib. ii. tom. ii. § lxxxiii. Opp. vol. i. p. 703, edit. D. Petavii, fol. Par. 1622.]

Note B, p. 33.

[Diximus unde Gentilium fabulæ soli currus et equos attribuerint, quas amplexi nonnulli ex regibus Juda, soli equos et currus in loco omnium sanctissimo consecrarunt. Quod etiam sub hoc ipsum tempus, et aliis postea seculis, fecere Gentiles. Nam Persæ equos consecrarunt Soli, eosque in illius honorem totos concremarunt. Ita Xenophon lib. viii. Cyropædiæ non semel, ubi currus ponitur Soli consecratus. Idem tradit Strabo, lib. xv; et Ovidius lib. i. Fastorum immolari canit equum Hyperioni, qui idem est Sol.

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo.

In pompa quadam junioris Cyri, tauri et equi inducuntur; illi ut immolentur Jovi, hi autem Soli. 'Primum,' inquit Xenophon, supra, 'agebantur tauri Jovi; post boves autem agebantur equi ad Solis sacrificium. Post hos autem educebatur currus albus coronatus jugo aureo, qui esset Jovi sacer; post hunc agebatur etiam Solis currus candidus, et is coronatus ut anterior.' Sic puto ad Gentilicos ritus in templo fuisse currus egregio opere perfectos, et in his equos ex pretiosa materia et arte mirifica elaboratos, qui viderentur currum illum

trahere, cui essent alligati; quod Solis esset insigne, quod in templo ad aram excitatam Soli visebatur. Illi vero equi, qui ad introitum dicuntur esse templi ad exedram Nathanmelech, vivi erant, qui in stabulis illic nutriebantur, ut suis temporibus immolarentur Soli, et. ut de Persis nuper diccbamus, vivi cremarentur.—Casp. Sanctius in Quat. Libros Regum Comment. col. 1627, fol. Lugd. 1623.]

Note C, p. 35.

[Dico ergo, hunc terræ motum contigisse anno vigesimo septimo Oziæ . . . . Hæc sententia est communis doctorum et interpretum, puta Hebræorum, S. Hieronymi, Cyrilli, Remigii, Procopii, Ruperti, Hugonis, Lyrani, Clarii, et aliorum. . . . Porro, iidem omnes, excepto Tornellio et uno alterove, secuti Josephum lib. ix. Antiq. 11, addunt, hunc terræ motum contigisse ob fastum Oziæ regis, quo ipse victoriis et secundis rebus inflatus, arrogavit sibi munus sacerdotale, obtulitque incensum in altari thymiamatis.—Corn. à Lapide in Duodecim Prophetas Minores, p. 248, edit. Paris. 1630.]

Note D, p. 49.

[Antea enim de Attila aliqua sunt reseranda; atque illud in primis, ipsum ex prædicatione cujusdam sanctissimi viri cognominari voluisse 'Flagellum Dei,' quod nimirum a Deo missus esset ultor scelerum peccantium Christianorum.—Baron. Annal. A.D. 451, § 37.]

Note E, p. 54.

Jos. Antiq. l. XI. c. viii. [. . Τοῦ δὲ Σαναβαλλέτου . . . λέγοντος οἰκοδομήσειν ναὸν, ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους, ὃ κατὰ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὀρῶν ἐστιν ὑψηλότατον, ... l. xi. c. viii. § 2; i. 501, edit. Hudson. fol. Oxon. 1720.

Ἀφίσταντο γὰρ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὸν Μανασσὴν, τοῦ Σαναβαλλέτου χορηγοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ κατοίκησιν ἀπομερίζοντος, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ συμφιλοκαλοῦντος.—Ibid.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἐμερίσθη, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαριζεὶν ὄρους ἱερὸν ἔμεινεν. Εἰ δέ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας, ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς Σαββάτοις παρανομίας, ἢ τινος, ἄλλου τοιούτου ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε, λέγων ἀδίκως ἐγκεκλῆσθαι.—Id. § 7, p. 505.]

Note F, p. 55.

Jos. ibid. [Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ... ἠξίου τε, ἀποστείλας γράμματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα, συμμιχίαν τε αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ ἀγορὰν τῷ

στρατεύματι παρασχεῖν, καὶ ὅσα Δαρείῳ πρότερον ἐτέλουν δῶρα τούτῳ διδόναι, τὴν Μακεδόνων φιλίαν ἑλόμενον, οὐ γὰρ μετανοήσειν ἐπὶ τούτοις. Τοῦ δ' ἀρχιερέως ἀποκριναμένου τοῖς γραμματοφόροις, ὡς ὅρκους εἴη Δαρείῳ δεδωκὼς, μὴ βαστάζειν ὅπλα κατ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτους, ἕως ἂν ᾖ Δαρεῖος ἐν τοῖς ζῶσι, μὴ παραβήσεσθαι φήσαντος, ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος παρωξύνθη. . . . . Id. XI. viii. § 3 ; i. 502.

Note G, p. 59.

Jos. Ant. l. XII. c. vi. [Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δίδωσι. ὁ γὰρ παῖς, ὃν Ὀνίας καταλελοίπει, νήπιος ἦν ἔτι . . . . Ἰησοῦς δὲ, οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ὀνίου, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφῃρέθη, προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτέρῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ Ὀνίᾳ τοὔνομα. Σίμωνι γὰρ οὗτοι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο παῖδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἦκεν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη, καθὼς δεδηλώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσωνα ἑαυτὸν μετωνόμασεν. ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος.—Id. XII. vi. § 1 ; i. 531.]

Note H, p. 60.

Jos. Ant. l. XII. c. xvi. [. . . . καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας, ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπαγόμενος Ὀνίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσε τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ. τοῦτον γὰρ ἔρξαι τῶν κακῶν, πείσαντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροιαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν, ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενόμενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, καὶ, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, τὸ ἔθνος ἀναγκάσαντα παραβῆναι τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους.—Id. XII. viii. § 7 ; i. 547.]

Note I, p. 60.

Jos. Ant. ibid. [. . . . ἀρχιερεὺς δ' ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Μενελάου θάνατον Ἄλκιμος, ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος κληθείς.—Id. XII. viii. § 5 ; i. 547.

. . . . συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἄλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς, καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες, ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπέκτειναν. . . . . Id. XII. x. § 1 ; i. 548.]

Note K, p. 61.

Jos. Ant. XIX. viii. [φύσου δ' ἦν πάντα ἀνάπλεω, καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνῃροῦντο . . . . ἔπεσον δὲ, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι.—Id. XII. iv. § 4 ; i. 614.]

Note L, p. 62.

Jos. Antiq. XVII. xiii. [? 3. § 6. *καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόριόν τι Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἀνθρώπων . . . . Φαρισαῖ κοιναλοῦνται, βασιλεῖσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, κἀκ' τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπῃρμένοι.*—ii. 753.]

Note M, p. 62.

Jos. Ant. XIII. xxiii. [*Ὁ δὲ (Ἀλέξανδρος) συνεβούλευεν αὐτῇ (Ἀλεξάνδρα) πείθεσθαι μὲν οἷς ὑποθήσεται, πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον, ἔπειτα ὡς ἂν νικήσῃ λαμπρῶς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγενομένη, τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν. τούτους γὰρ, ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς, εὖνουν καταστήσειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἔθνος. δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε, βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας, καὶ φίλους διακειμένους ὠφελῆσαι. μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν καὶ φθονοῦντες τὶ χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τούτους ἔλεγε, ὑβρισθέντας παρ' αὐτοῦ.*—Id. XIII. xv. § 5. i. 600.

. . . . τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτὴ, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ φαρισαῖοι.—Id. XIII. xvi. § 2; i. 601.]

Note N, p. 63.

Jos. de Bell. Jud. lib. VI. c. xi. [*πόθεν δ' ἠρξάμεθα δουλείας; ἆρ' οὐχὶ ἐκ στάσεως τῶν προγόνων, ὅτε ἡ Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ μανία, καὶ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔρις Πομπήϊον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πόλει, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐλευθερίας.*—Id. lib. v. [vi.] cap. xi. § 4. ii. 1243. But more apposite passages in support of the text will be found at pp. 623 and 628.]

Note O, p. 64.

Jos. Antiq. l. XIV. c. xviii. xix. [*Μάλιχος δὲ τότε δείσας μάλιστα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ἐκποδὼν ἐπειεῖτο. καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίῳ τὸν Ὑρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι εἱστιῶντο, φαρμάκῳ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα.*—Id. XIV. xi. § 4; i. 637.]

Note P, p. 64.

Ib. cap. x. [*Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατατρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖδος, στρατηγὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν.*—Id. lib. XIV. cap. v. § 2; i. 616.]

NOTE Q, p. 64.

Ib. cap. xiii. [*Φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ παραστὰν, ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων, ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα, πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ' αὖθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκεσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου τῶν ὁλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος.*—Lib. XIV. xiii. § 10; i. 646.]

NOTE R, p. 64.

Jos. Antiq. lib. XVII. cap. xii. [*Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀθρόγγης. . . . ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ φρονῆσαι.*—§ 7. ii. 780.]

NOTE S, p. 64.

Id. de Bell. Jud. lib. II. cap. xvii. [*Κἂν τούτῳ Μανάϊμός τις. . . . οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐπάνεισιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ γενόμενος ἡγεμὼν τῆς στάσεως διέτασσε τὴν πολιορκίαν.*—§ 8. ii. 1093.

NOTE T, p. 64.

Jos. Antiq. lib. XVIII. cap. i. ii. [*. . . . ληστηρίων δὲ μεγίλων ἐπιθέσεσι καὶ διαφθορᾶις ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ... ἐξ ὧν στάσεις τε ἐφύησαν, δι' αὐτὰς καὶ φόνος πολιτικός.*—§ 1. ii. 792.]

NOTE U, p. 65.

Jos. de Bell. Jud. xi. vii. [*Ἐπὶ τούτου τὶς ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένουσι, καὶ μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας.*—§ 1. ii. 1060.]

NOTE V, p. 65.

Jos. de Bell. Jud. VI. xii. [V. xi. ii. 1277.]

NOTE W, p. 66.

[*Ἄξιος γε καὶ χαλεπωτέρων, ὃς ἄντικρυς εἱμαρμένης τὰ παραινῶ, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ βιάζομαι κατακρίτους σώζειν.*—ii. 1267.]

NOTE X, p. 68.

Jos. Ant. Jud. XVII. 18. [(8) *Ἡρώδης δὲ, τόν τε Ματθίαν ἐπεπαύκει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Ματθίαν, ὃς ἐγηγέρκει τὴν στάσιν, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ ἔκαυσε ζῶντας.*—ii. 768.]

Note Y, p. 68.

Id. XV. xiii. [x. 10. § 4. i. 698.]

Note Z, p. 68.

Id. XVII. 13. [Παντὸς γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὅρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι—XVII. xi. § 6. ii. 753.]

Note AA, p. 68.

Id. XVIII. i. ii. [tom. ii. p. 792, 793, 794.] de Bell. Jud. ii. 7. [tom. ii. p. 1060.]

Note BB, p. 69.

Jos. Antiq. Jud. XII. i. [Ἅμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἐλεάζαρος υἱὸς Ἀνανίᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, νεανίας θρασύτατος, στρατηγῶν τότε, τοὺς κατὰ τὴν λατρείαν λειτουργοῦντας ἀναπείθει, μηδενὸς ἀλλοφύλου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι.—II. xviii. § 2. ii. 1091.]

Note CC, p. 69.

Id. de Bell. Jud. II. 17. [Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου κατα[illegible]—II. xviii. § 2. ii. 1091.]

Note DD, p. 69.

Id. Antiq. Jud. XVIII. iii. [tom. ii. p. 795.] xx. 8. [tom. ii. p. 897.]

NOTES TO THE SECOND BOOK.

Note A, p. 80.

Aug. de Hæres. cap. xlvi. [De hæres. Manichæorum..... Deum, Qui legem per Moysen dedit, et in Hebræis prophetis locutus est, non esse verum Deum, sed unum ex principibus tenebrarum. Ipsiusque Testamenti novi scripturas tanquam infalsatas ita legunt, ut

quod volunt inde accipiant, quod nolunt rejiciant; eisque tanquam totum verum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponant.—Tom. viii. col. 13. edit. Ant. 1700.]

Note B, p. 81.

[See Tourneley, Curs. Theolog. i. 431. edit. fol. 1752; Bellarm. de Christo, lib. iii. cap. i. seqq.; Gerhard. Loc. Com. Theolog. loc. iv. cap. vi. § 84. tom. iii. p. 403. edit. Cottæ; Gotti Theolog. Dogm. Scholast. xii. 105. edit. Bonon. 1732.]

Note C, p. 81.

[The following passage from Bellarmine, (de Incarnat. iii. ix. §. 'Catholica vero,' edit. Ingol. 1586) embodies the doctrine here objected to.

. . . . Ex unione hypostatica consecuta esse in Christi humanitatem multa dona creata et infusa; ut gratiam excellentissimam, sapientiam maximam, potentiam singularem, et alia id genus; quæ tamen non sunt attributa Deitatis, nisi per participationem quamdam, quomodo etiam nos participamus Dei attributa per creatas qualitates, licet minus perfecte, quam Christi humanitas ea participet. Neque in his consistit communicatio idiomatum; nam illa communicatio est mutua: horum autem communicatio donorum non est mutua, nihil enim Deitati accessit.

And he concludes the chapter thus. Pari ratione recte dicimus, Christus homo est omnipotens, æternus, ubique, &c. quia homo in concreto stat pro supposito humano.]

Note D, p. 81.

[. . . . non possunt vera membra Ecclesiæ vocari Lutherani et Calvinistæ, etiamsi in Symbolo nobiscum convenirent; nam præter illam fidem requiritur subjectio ad legitimum caput Ecclesiæ à Christo constitutum.—Bellarm. de Laicis, iii. xix. § 'Secundo.'

And again,

Respondeo, neminem posse, etiamsi velit, subesse Christo et communicare cum Ecclesia cœlesti, qui non subest pontifici et non communicat cum Ecclesia militante.—Id. de Ecclesia Militante, iii. v. § 'Respondeo neminem.']

Note E, p. 86.

[Hæc lege, hæc crede, hæc retine; huic fidei animam tuam subjuga, et vitam consequeris et præmium a Christo. Damasi Symbolum inter Opp. S. Hieronymi, Ep. xvi. tom. ix. p. 70, edit. Ant. 1579.]

Note F, p. 87.

[Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco; Romanoque pontifici, Beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.... Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor et veraciter teneo, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum constantissime, Deo adjuvante, retineri et confiteri.... ego idem N. spondeo, voveo, ac juro.—Labb. Conc. xiv. 946.]

Note G, p. 87.

[See Cumel in 1 S. Thomæ q. 23. art. 3. q. 2. prop. 3.]

Note H, p. 96

[Nerians, i. e. priests of the Oratory, an order founded by St. Philip de Neri. Cardinal Baronius, and his continuator Raynaldi, were amongst the most distinguished members of this congregation. See Heliot. Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, viii. 12; Par. 1719.]

Note I, p. 97.

Bellarm. de Sum. Pontif. lib. v. [cap. iii. § Jam vero. col. 1085.

Id. cap. iv. § Superest nunc, &c. col. 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091.]

Note K, p. 116.

[Item locus D. Pauli ad Rom. cap. 13. esse obediendum ait Principibus, de ethnicis non loquitur, sicut corrupte allegatur, sed quatenus de illis intellexerit; Primo, loquitur Imperio Romano approbato, ut dixi. Item textus seipsum declarat. Nam scribit ad Christianos, quibus consulit, obediendum esse Principibus ne peccent, nam Principes non sunt timor boni operis, sed mali, vis ergo non timere potestatem, bonum fac, &c. ergo non simpliciter mandat obediendum esse Principibus Ethnicis, sed ut secundum conscientiam bonum faciant, et ita ratio restringit dictum. . . . .

Eodem modo scribendi usus est D. Paul. in 1. ad Tim. cap. 6. Hortando servos, ut honorent dominos suos etiam infideles, propter rationes, de quibus per eum, ergo rationes attendendæ, quæ dictum

generale restringunt[a]. Sed ex illis monitionibus non fundatur justum dominium in personis Ethnicorum, nam Paulus qui hoc dicit non erat summus Pontifex.

Tractatus de jurisdictione per, et inter judicem Ecclesiasticum et secularem exercenda &c. Doctoris Martæ, Jurisconsulti Neapolitani, in Alma Urbe Advocati, p. i. cap. 24, n. 38; Avenonæ, 1616.]

Note L, p. 117.

[Bellarm. de Sum. Pontif. lib. v. cap. ii. col. 1084.]

Note M, p. 120.

Calvin, Instit. lib. iv. cap. iv. § 4. [Quod autem singulæ provinciæ unum habebant inter episcopos archiepiscopum; quod item in Nicena synodo constituti sunt patriarchæ, qui essent ordine et dignitate archiepiscopis superiores; id ad disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat. .... Verum si rem omisso vocabulo intuemur, reperiemus veteres episcopos non aliam regendæ Ecclesiæ formam voluisse fingere ab ea quam Deus verbo Suo præscripsit.—Edit. Amst. 1667. p. 286.]

Note N, p. 132.

[Magna de hoc discipulorum numero quæstio est, quia non solum Græci plerique codices et Syriaci septuaginta solum legunt, sed etiam auctores veteres, maximeque Græci, cum eos numerant, aut mentionem de illis quoquo modo faciunt, non nisi septuaginta solent ponere, ut Irenæus, Clemens, ut citat Eusebius, Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Damascenus, Concilium Neocæsariense, Dorotheus.

Maldonat. in Evang. S. Lucæ, cap. x. ver. 1. See also Tillem. Memoir. tom. i. p. 436. edit. 4to. Par. 1701; Walch. Hist. Eccl. N. T. p. 302. 4to. Jenæ, 1744; Buddei Ecclesia Apostolica, p. 683. 8vo. Jenæ, 1729; Spanhem. Opp. ii. 299; Suicer. Thesaur. ii. 288.]

Note O, p. 136.

Jerom. in Ep. ad Tit. c. 1. [The editor has failed in discovering the passage here alluded to, although the Benedictine and several earlier editions have been consulted.]

Note P, p. 145.

[See Wolfii Curæ Philolog. in ii. Tim. 4. 21. et Prolegom. in Ep. ad Tit.; Tillem. Mem. tom. ii. par. 1. p. 257; Walch. Hist. N. T. pp. 306, 307; Mill. Nov. Test. p. 647.]

[a] Here the text is evidently corrupt, and the editor is unable to correct it.

Note Q, p. 146.

Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. v. [This reference has not been discovered.]

Chrysost. Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. [Μέλλων κατιέναι εἰς τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λόγον, δείκνυσι καθάπαξ ὁποῖον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οὐκ ἐν τάξει τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον αὐτὸ παραινέσεως ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς πᾶσι διαλεγόμενος, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου πάντας ῥυθμίζων.—Opp. XI. 598. edit. Bened.]

Ambr. in 1 Tim. c. vi. [Non sollicitus de cura Timothei, tam circumspectus est, sed propter successores ejus, ut exemplo Timothei Ecclesiæ ordinationem custodirent; ipsi quoque futuris formam tradentes a semetipsis inciperent.—Append. ad Opp. S. Ambros. ii. 303. edit. Bened.]

Œcum. in 1 Tim. c. vi. [Πρὸς Τιμόθεον γράφων, δείκνυσι καθολικῶς ὁποῖον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον.—II. 224. edit. Par. 1631. See also Hammond, Dissertat. Quatuor de Episcop. Jur. p. 185. edit. 1651.]

Note R, p. 146.

Ambr. ibid. [Magna vigilantia atque providentia præcepta dat rectori Ecclesiæ; in hujus enim persona totius populi salus consistit. Non sollicitus de cura Timothei tam circumspectus est, sed propter successores ejus, ut exemplo Timothei Ecclesiæ ordinationem custodirent; ipsi quoque futuris formam tradentes a semetipsis inciperent. —Append. ad Opp. S. Ambros. ii. 303.]

Note S, p. 147.

Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 35. [tom. i. p. 270. edit. Heinichen.]—Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3. [edit. Massuet, p. 176. and Euseb. H. E. iv. 14.] —Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 23. [tom. i. p. 230.]

Note T, p. 147.

Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 4. [tom. i. p. 191.]

Origen. in c. xvi. ad Rom. ['Salutat vos Caius hospes meus'.... Fertur sane traditione majorum quod hic Caius episcopus fuerit Thessalonicensis Ecclesiæ.—Opp. Lat. fol. ccxxiii. edit. fol. Par. 1512.]

Ambr. in Coloss. c. iv. ['Et dicite Archippo, Vide ministerium quod suscepisti in Domino, ut illud impleas.' Præpositum illorum per eos ipsos commonet ut sit sollicitus de salute ipsorum; et quia plebis solius causa epistola scribitur, ideo non ad rectorem ipsorum destinata est, sed ad ecclesiam. Post enim Epaphram, qui illos imbuit, hic accepit regendam eorum ecclesiam.—Append. ad Opp. S. Ambros. ii. 276.]

Note U, p. 148.

Iren. adv. Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. [edit. Massuet, p. 175.]

Note V, p. 148.

Tertull. de Præscript. adv. Hæres. [p. 213. edit. Rigalt.]

Note W, p. 148.

August. ep. 24. [This reference has not been discovered.]

Note X, p. 149.

Jerom. Ep. ad Evagrium. [Et, ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento; quod Aaron, et filii ejus, atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vindicent in Ecclesia.—Ep. 85. Opp. tom. i. p. 311. edit. Ant. 1578.]

Note Y, p. 150.

[See Bingham, II. iii. § 6. quoting Athan. Apol. ii. p. 732. (tom. i. p. 193. edit. Paris. 1698.)]

Note Z, p. 150.

[See Bingham, II. iii. § 7. quoting Conc. Constant. c. iv. (Concil. tom. ii. p. 947.)]

Note AA, p. 151.

[Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui præsentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.—Conc. Carthag. IV. cap. iii. ap. Bruns. 1, 141. See also Gratian. Dist. xxiii. c. 8; Ivo. par. iii. c. 12. cited in Bingh. Orig. Eccl. II. xix. § 10.]

Note BB, p. 152.

S. Cypr. lib. i. ep. iii. [Ep. 59. (ed. Pamel. Rigalt. Baluz. 55.) § 7. edit. Goldh.]

Note CC, p. 152.

Cypr. lib. 4. ep. 8. [Ep. 59. § 7.]

Note DD, p. 152.

Hieron. adv. Luciferanos [cap. iv. Opp. 11. 199. edit. Antv. 1578.]

NOTE EE, p. 189.

Calvin [Instit. lib. iv. cap. iv. § 4. quoted under note M. above.]

NOTE FF, p. 159.

[Nam, præsupposito quod omnis potestas, omne dominium et omnis principatus sit translatus in Christum, ut dixi . . . . et postea relictus sit Petro.—Marta. Par. 3. c. 3. § 6. p. 11.]

NOTE GG, p. 159.

[Nam Lucæ cap. 12. dixit: Quis Me constituit divisorem inter vos? Nihilominus duo tempora considerantur in Christo: Alterum ante passionem, et tunc propter humilitatem judicare recusavit, ut est dictum, (D. Ambros in libro 7. super textu Lucæ cap 12. et Joan. cap. 18.) 'Regnum Meum non est de hoc mundo.' Alterum vero post resurrectionem, et tunc dixit, 'Data est Mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.' Mat. cap. ult. et Joan. cap. ult. Sed post resurrectionem dedit potestatem Petro, eumque constituit Vicarium.—Ib. c. 22. § 4, 5. p. 45.]

NOTE HH, p. 159.

[Imprimis potestatis plenitudo in Christo desumitur etiam ex Joan. cap. 13. *Sciens quia omnia dedit Ei Pater in manus.* Et Luc. cap. 10. *Omnia Mihi tradita sunt a Patre Meo.* Et D. Paul. ad Heb. cap. i. *Quem constituit hæredem universorum.* Et quia textus sacræ paginæ semper universaliter, et de omnibus loquuntur: Ideo D. Paul. ad Heb. cap. 2. exponens dictum Psal. 8. *Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus Ejus*: de Christo loquens, dixit, In eo quod omnia subjecit, nihil omisit non subjectum Ei. Et ad 1 Cor. cap. 15. Exponens eundem locum, ne quis putaret, per dictionem *omnia*, etiam Jesum Deum comprehendi, a Christi dominio et potestate Deum expresse excepit, dicens, cum dicat omnia subjecta sunt Ei, sine dubio, præter Eum Qui subjecit Ei omnia. Item Ps. 71. *Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare, et a flumine, usque ad terminos orbis terræ.* Item Ps. 2. *Postula a Me, et dabo Tibi gentes hæreditatem Tuam, et possessionem Tuam terminos terræ.*—Ib. p. 46.]

NOTE II, p. 159.

Carerius. [Nam Petrus hanc temporalem potestatem exercuit in sua propria natura temporaliter, nam in Actibus cap. 5. dicitur quod

ipse condemnavit Ananiam et Saphyram pro crimine facti ad pœnam civiliter.—De potestate Romani pontificis, adversus impios politicos hujus temporis hæreticos, libri duo. Auctore Alex. Carerio, Patavino, J. C. Col. Agrip. 1601.]

NOTE KK, p. 159.

Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 3. [§ Item si (tom. i. col. 1085,) Item si papa est dominus totius orbis Christiani supremus, ergo singuli episcopi sunt principes temporales in oppidis suo episcopatui subjectis.]

NOTE LL, p. 160.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. 4. [§ Superest nunc. tom. i. col. 1087. et § At regna, col. 1090.]

NOTE MM, p. 160.

Idem ibid. [§ Adde, quod. col. 1090. Adde, quod neque habet pontifex omnem potestatem prorsus, quam habuit Christus ut homo mortalis. Ille enim, quia Deus et homo erat, habuit quandem potestatem quam dicunt excellentiæ, per quam præerat tam fidelibus quam infidelibus; papæ autem solum oves suas, id est, fideles, commisit. Præterea, Christus poterat Sacramenta instituere et miracula facere propria auctoritate, quæ non potest pontifex. Item, poterat absolvere a peccatis sine Sacramentis, quod papa non potest.]

NOTE NN, p. 161.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. c. 9. § Quarto, qui [col. 1107.]

NOTE OO, p. 162.

Id. ibid. § Jam vero. [col. 1108. Jam vero quod jure habeat summus pontifex eum principatum quem habet, probari posset facile, quia dono principum habuit.]

NOTE PP, p. 162.

Id. ibid. § Item Leo. [col. 1108. Et exstant Romæ authentica instrumenta harum et similium donationum. Sed etiamsi nihil horum exstaret, abunde sufficeret præscriptio DCCC. annorum.]

NOTE QQ, p. 162.

Id. ibid. c. 10. [§ Tertio objicit. col. 1110. Tertio objicit Calvinus verba D. Bernardi l. ii. de consid. 'Apostolis interdicitur dominatus,

ergo tu et tibi usurpare aude, aut dominans apostolatum, aut apostolicus dominatum. Forma apostolica hæc est, interdicitur dominatio, indicitur ministratio.'

Respondeo, Bernardum loqui de pontifice, ut pontifex est totius Ecclesiæ, et secundum id quod habet ex Christi institutione.]

Ibid. cap. 10. § Quarto objicit. [col. 1110. Quarto objicit ibid. § 14. verba B. Gregorii, qui, lib. 4. epist. 44. dicit anathema episcopo qui jubet alicui agro more fiscali titulum imprimi.

Respondeo, nihil esse mirandum si Gregorius noluit episcopos, nec etiam præfectos patrimoniorum Romanæ ecclesiæ uti more fiscali in agris Ecclesiæ recuperandis. Nam nondum habuerat Ecclesia politicum principatum, sed possidebat bona temporalia, ad eum modum quo privati cives possident. Itaque æquum erat ut agros, quos suos esse censebat Ecclesia, si forte ab aliis occuparentur, in judicio legitimo eos repeteret; non autem more fiscali propria sibi auctoritate vendicaret.]

Note RR, p. 162.

Calvin. Inst. l. iv. c. xi. [Si hac de re Christi auctoritatem quærimus, non dubium quin Verbi Sui ministros a civili dominatione ac terreno imperio arcere voluerit, quum diceret, 'Reges gentium dominantur illis, vos autem non sic.'—§ 8. p. 326. edit. Amst. 1667.]

Note SS, p. 163.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 9. § Denique probatur [col. 1108. Nam etsi absolute forte præstaret pontifices tractare solum spiritualia et reges temporalia, tamen propter malitiam temporum experientia clamat, non solum utiliter sed etiam necessario et ex singulari Dei providentia, donatos fuisse pontifici aliisque episcopis temporales aliquos principatus. Si enim in Germania episcopi principes non fuissent, nulli ad hanc diem in suis sedibus permansissent. Sicut ergo in Testamento Veteri diu fuerunt pontifices sine imperio temporali, et tamen ultimis temporibus non poterat religio consistere et defendi nisi pontifices etiam reges essent, nimirum tempore Machabæorum, ita quoque accidisse videmus Ecclesiæ, ut quæ primis temporibus ad majestatem suam tuendam temporali principatu non egebat, nunc eodem necessario indigere videatur.]

Note TT, p. 169.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 5. § Sed occurrunt. [col. 1091.]

NOTE UU, p. 170.

Ibidem, § Secundo objiciunt. [col. 1091.]

NOTE VV, p. 170.—[col. 1092.]

NOTE WW, p. 170.

[Ibid. col. 1092. Porro beatus Bernardus et Bonifacius papa mystice interpretati sunt hunc locum; nec volunt dicere eodem modo habere pontificem gladium utrumque, sed alio et alio modo.]

NOTE XX, p. 171.

Bell. ibidem. § Ad testimonium. [§ Sed occurrunt. col. 1091. Utriusque autem regni claves Petro attribuit, ut Nicolaus ait in Epistola ad Michaelem, 'Christus,' inquit, 'beato Petro, vitæ æternæ clavigero, terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit.']

NOTE YY, p. 171.

[Bellarm. ibid. § Respondeo, potestatem.]

NOTE ZZ, p. 171.

[Bellarm. ibid. § Addo, secundo.]

NOTE AAA, p. 176.

[See the Life of Bellarmine in Bayle's Dictionary, note M, and the authorities there quoted.]

NOTE BBB, p. 177.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. v. cap. 6. [col. 1093. *Papam habere temporalem potestatem indirecte.*]

NOTE CCC, p. 178.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. v. cap. 6. [p. 1093. § Explicanda. Quantum ad primum asserimus, pontificem, ut pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam mere temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum.]

NOTE DDD, p. 178.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. lib. v. cap. 7. [col. 1095. § Hæc igitur.]

NOTE EEE, p. 179.

Chrysost. Hom. in c. xiii. ad Rom. [*Καὶ δεικνοὺς ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, ἐκ προοιμίων αὐτὸ δῆλον ἐποίησεν οὕτω λέγων, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω, κἂν Ἀποστόλος ᾖς, κἂν εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν ὁστισοῦν*—Hom. XXIII. Opp. tom. ix. p. 686. edit. Bened.]

NOTE FFF, p. 179.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. c. 7. [§ Tertia Ratio, col. 1097.]

NOTE GGG, p. 181.

[Tertull. Apolog. § 36, 37. p. 107, 108. edit. Gersdorf.]

NOTE HHH, p. 182.

[Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. vii. cap. 7. § Quod si Christiani, col. 1097.]

NOTE III, p. 182.

['Judicari apud iniquos, et non apud sanctos.' Hic probatur Christianos tunc judices non fuisse, quia iniqui dicuntur.—S. Hieron. in 1 Cor. vi. Opp. tom. viii. p. 207. edit. Ant. 1578.]

NOTE KKK, p. 182.

[Constituit enim talibus causis ecclesiasticos Apostolus cognitores, in foro prohibens jurgare Christianos.—S. August. Enarr. in Ps. cxviii. Serm. xxiv. Op. tom. iv. col. 1004. edit. 1700.]

NOTE LLL, p. 182.

[Quia ergo sunt, inquit, sapientes fratres, aliqui horum eligantur ad judicandum, quorum judicium miretur mundus.—Opp. S. Ambros. Append. ad vol. ii. col. 129. edit. Bened.]

NOTE MMM, p. 182.

[S. Chrysost. Hom. XVI. in 1 Cor. Opp. tom. x. p. 138.]

Note NNN, p. 182.

Theodoret. in 1 Cor. 6. [. . . . *πάντων δὲ χαλεπώτατον, τὸ καὶ ἀπίστῳ κεχρῆσθαι κριτῇ, εἰδέναι μέντοι χρὴ, ὡς οὐκ ἐναντία ταῦτα τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γραφείσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀντιτείνειν κελεύει τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἄλλα τοῖς ἠδικημένοις νομοθετεῖ μὴ κεχρῆσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι.*—Opp. tom. iii. p. 144. edit. Par. 1642.]

Note OOO, p. 183.

Aqu. in 1 Cor. 6. [Sed videtur esse contra id quod dicitur 1 Pet. ii. 'Subditi estote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Deum, sive regi tanquam præcellenti, sive ducibus tanquam ab Eo missis;' pertinet enim ad authoritatem principis judicare de subditis. Est ergo contra jus divinum prohibere quod ejus judicio non stetur, si sit infidelis.

Sed dicendum, quod Apostolus non prohibet quin fideles sub infidelibus principibus constituti eorum judicio comparent si vocentur, hoc enim esset contra subjectionem quæ debetur principibus; sed prohibet quod fideles non eligant voluntarie infidelium judicium. Lectio prima in cap. vi. Ep. i. ad Corinth. Opp. tom. xvi. f. 60. b. edit. Ant. 1612.]

Note PPP, p. 183.

['The New Testament of Iesus Christ, faithfully translated into English out of the authentical Latin, diligently conferred with the Greeke, and other editions in divers languages; with arguments of bookes and chapters; annotations, and other helpes, for the better understanding of the text, and specially for the discoverie of corruptions in divers late translations; and for cleering controversaries in religion in these days; by the English College then resident in Rhemes.

Set forth the second time, by the same college now returned to Doway, ... Printed at Antwerp by Daniel Vervliet, 1600.' Quarto.

On the reverse of this title-page are the approbations mentioned in the text.

'The censure and approbation of the former edition.

Cum hujus versionis ac editionis authores nobis de fide et eruditione sint probe cogniti, aliique S. theologiæ et linguæ Anglicanæ peritissimi viri contestati sint nihil in hoc opere reperiri, quod non sit Catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ et pietati consentaneum, vel quod ullo modo potestati ac paci civili repugnet; sed omnia potius veram fidem,

Reip. bonum, vitæque ac morum probitatem promovere; ex ipsorum fide censemus ista utiliter excudi et publicari posse.

Petrus Remigius archidiaconus major metropolitanæ insignis Ecclesiæ Rhemensis, Juris Canonici Doctor, archiepiscopatus Rhemensis generalis Vicarius.

Hubertus Morus, Rhemensis Ecclesiæ decanus et ecclesiastes, et in sacratissimæ theologiæ facultate Doctor.

Iohannes Le Besgue, canonicus Rhemensis, doctor theologus, et cancellarius academiæ Rhemensis.

Gulielmus Balbus, theologiæ professor, collegii Rhemensis archimagister.

The approbation of this edition.

Nos infra scripti, visa approbatione theologorum Rhemensium super editione Novi Testamenti, in idioma Anglicanum per collegium Anglorum Rhemis conversi, ibidemque impressi Anno Domini 1582, accepta quoque attestatione R. D. præsidis et aliorum ejusdem collegii nunc Duaci constituti S. Theologiæ doctorum, de illius versione sinceritate; eorum fide nixi judicamus eam editionem, tanquam fidelem, utiliter antea impressam, denuo imprimi posse. Datum Duaci, 2 Novemb. 1599.

Guilelmus Estius, S. Theologiæ doctor, et in academia Duacensi professor.

Bartholomæus Petrus, S. Theol. doctor, et in eadem universitate professor.

Iudocus Heylens, S. Theologiæ doctor, et in universitate eadem professor.']

Note QQQ, p. 183.

Rhem. Test. in 1 Cor. vi. 6. [p. 436. edit. Ant. 1600.]

Note RRR, p. 184.

[Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. 7. § Quarta Ratio, col. 1098.]

Note SSS, p. 186.

[Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. 7. § Secunda Ratio, col. 1096.]

Note TTT, p. 198.

Extravag. lib. i. cap. i. de Major. et Obed. Unam Sanctam. [Respondeo et dico quod potestas spiritualis debet dominari omni creaturæ humanæ, per rationes quas Hostiensis inducit in Summa qui fil. sint leg. § qualiter et a quo .... Liber Sextus Decretalium, &c. tom. iii. col. 212 (third series of pages), edit. Taur. 1620.]

NOTE UUU, p. 199.

Harding's Confut. of Juel's Apolog. § 19. [Wherefore, to conclude, except we would wickedly grant that God's providence hath lacked, or doth lack to His Church, for love of which He hath given His only-begotten Son, and which He hath promised never to forget, so as the woman cannot forget the child she bare in her womb, reason may soon induce us to believe that to one man, one bishop, the chief and highest of all bishops, the successor of Peter, the rule and government of the Church of God hath been deferred. For else, if God had not ordained that in the Church should be sundry heads and rulers, and none constituted to be over other, but all of equal power, each one among their people, then He should seem to have set up so many Churches as He hath appointed governors; and so He shall appear to have brought in among His faithful people that unruly confusion, the destruction of all commonweales so much abhorred of princes, which the Greeks call *anarchian*, which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all. —Reply to Harding, p. 192. edit. 1609.]

NOTE VVV, p. 200.

Bell. Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 2. [col. 602, 603.]

NOTE WWW, p. 200.

Sand. de Vis. Mon. lib. iii. [De visibili monarchia Ecclesiæ Libri 8. Auctore Nicolao Sandero, Sacræ Theologiæ Professore. fol. Wirceburgi, 1592.

Fecit Dominus luminaria in cœlo, non utique omnia ejusdem potestatis, sed *luminare majus, ut præesset diei, et luminare minus, ut præesset nocti, et stellas.* Majus vero luminare Sol dicitur, quem Basilius Magnus *quasi quendam oculum, qui hanc rerum machinam illustrat,* merito appellavit . . . . Quæ cum ita sint, quemadmodum inter omnia mundi luminaria unum est cæteris majus, quod veluti fons luminis totius constituitur, sic inter omnes doctores et pastores oporteat unum excellere, qui cæteris, cum opus est, præluceat, ipsosque Doctores pro humana fragilitate interdum cæcutientes ad scopum veritatis dirigat.—Lib. iii. cap. 5.

Quantopere author naturæ Deus res omnes incitaverit et commoverit, non modo ut ipsius monarchiæ obediant, verum etiam ut propriam in suo genere monarchiam exerceant; tum ex aliis quæ jam commemoravi, tum præcipue ex eo perspicitur, quod nunc dicam.

Cum enim ex animalibus quædam seorsum ac sola degant, alia vero gregatim pascantur; in his quæ pascuntur gregatim, animadvertas fere unum quendam ducem ac principem, non quidem electione, sed instinctu naturali constitutum, ad cujus vel motum vel quietem cætera vel moveantur vel quiescant. Hoc in gruibus, plurimisque avium generibus, in cervis, in ovibus, multoque magis in apibus cernitur.—Lib. iii. cap. 9.]

NOTE XXX, p. 200.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9. [col. 633, 634; see also lib. i. cap. 2. col. 605.]

NOTE YYY, p. 201.

Covarr. 2 part. Relect. § 9. tom. i. n. 5. [p. 537. edit. Venet. 1588.]

NOTE ZZZ, p. 202.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 2. [Ac primum, institutione generis humani. Deus enim ex uno fecit omne genus humanum, ut ait Apostolus, Act. 17. § Altera ratio. col. 604.]

NOTE 4 A, p. 202.

Idem, ibid. cap. 9. [col. 637.]

NOTE 4 B, p. 208.

Reginaldi Epistola de temp. Baldwini, p. 98. col. 1. [This work of Reginald has not come down to us. Bishop Tanner, in his Bibliotheca, p. 620, mentions a monk of Canterbury of this name, but makes no reference to the existence of the work from which the quotation in the text has been derived. The controversy respecting the erection of this church at Lambeth, is fully detailed by Gervase of Canterbury in his Chronicle, printed in the Decem Scriptores, fol. Lond. 1652. See especially col. 1592—1625.

NOTE 4 C, p. 209.

Matt. Paris. ad an. 1243. [p. 408. edit. Watts. Par. 1644.]

NOTE 4 D, p. 214.

Carerius [De potestate Romani Pontificis, adversus impios politicos, et hujus temporis hæreticos.—Libri duo. Auctore Alexandro Carerio Patavino. J. C. Colon. Agrip. 1601.]

NOTE 4 E, p. 215.

Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. i. cap. 9. § Utrum [col. 644.]

PART III.

NOTE A, p. 220.

August. de Hæres. [ad Quodvultdeum] cap. 46. [Opp. viii. 13.]

NOTE B, p. 221.

Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24. [edit. Heinrich. ii. 115] Id. ib. c. 23. [Id. ii. 106.]

NOTE C, p. 221.

Geo. Vicel. Epit. Rom. Pontif. [Epitome Romanorum Pontificum a sanctissimo Petro usque ad Paulum ejus nominis Tertium, per Georgium Vicelium.—Col. 1549, p. 13.]

NOTE D, p. 222.

[Nam cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter et justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint; nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum . . . S. Cypr. Ep. 59. § 20. edit. Fell; Ep. 55, p. 86, edit. Baluz.]

NOTE E, p. 222.

Wolfgang. Lazius Comment. Reip. Rom. lib. ii. [cap. ii. p. 101. edit. Franc. ad Moen. 1598.] Baron., tom. i. an. 39. [§ 10, 11, &c.]

NOTE F, p. 223.

[*Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα.*—Conc. Chalced. can. xxviii. Bruns. i. 32.]

NOTE G, p. 223.

Æneas Sylv. [postea Pius Secundus] Ep. 288. [p. 802. Opp. edit. Basil. 1551.]

NOTE H, p. 224.

Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. [cap. iii. Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopatus sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, adusque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis; quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum, efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans Urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt omni contentione laterum jurgari debere; cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. P. 373, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1693.]—Alph. Ciacco. in vita Damas. [tom. i. col. 109, edit. Romæ, 1630.]

NOTE I, p. 224.

Hieron. ad Pammachium [Homo sacrilegus et idolorum cultor solebat ludens beato Papæ Damaso dicere, Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus.—Ep. 61. Opp. i. 214, edit. 1578.]

NOTE J, p. 224

Tripart. Hist. lib. ix. cap. 13. [p. 510, edit. Basil. 1544.]—Conc. Constant. i. can. 5. [Labb. Conc. ii. 959.]

NOTE K, p. 225.

Annot. in cap. 5, Concil. Constant. edit. Venetiis, 1585. [Labb. ii. 670. See also Baron. A.D. 381, § 35, 36.]

Surius in Concil. Chalced. can. 28. [See Labb. iv. 997. Bevereg. Pandect. Annot. tom. ii. p. 124.]

NOTE L, p. 225.

Concil. Afric. per Surium, cap. 101. [Labb. ii. 1670.]

NOTE M, p. 225.

Conc. Afric. can. 92. [Labb. ii. 1667.]

NOTE N, p. 225.

Distinct. 99. Primæ [Decret. Grat. i. 289. edit. Lugd. 1548. See Labb. ii. 1643.]

NOTE O, p. 226.

Præfat. in Concil. Afric. vel Carthag. vi. in Con. edit. Venetiis, 1585. [See Labb. ii. 1599.]

Turrian. lib. iii. pro Epistolis Pontif. [Francisci Turriani Societatis Jesu adversus Magdeburgenses Centuriatores pro Canonibus Apostolorum et Epistolis Decretalibus Pontificum Apostolicorum. Lib. v. Flor. 1572.]

NOTE P, p. 226.

Concil. Chalced. per Surium, Can. 28. [See Part iii. note F.]

NOTE Q, p. 226.

Surius in Can. 28. Concil. Chalced. [See Binii Concil. iii. 561, edit. Par. 1636.]

NOTE R, p. 227.

1 Epist. Pelag. ii. tom. ii. Concil. [Nullus enim patriarcharum hoc tam profano vocabulo unquam utatur; quia si summus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit a fidelis cujusquam mente, hoc sibi vel velle quempiam arripere, unde honorem fratrum suorum imminuere ex quantulacunque parte videatur.—Binii Concil. iv. 477.]

NOTE S, p. 227.

Greg. lib. iv. Epist. 32. [lib. v. Epist. 20. Opp. ii. 747. edit. Bened. Par. 1705.]

Ibid. Epist. 36. 38. [lib. v. Epp. 43, 18. Opp. ii. 770, 741.

NOTE T, p. 227.

Ibid. Ep. 36, ibid. Ep. 38. [See the last note.]

NOTE U, p. 227.

Id. lib. vi. Ep. 30, ad Mauricium [lib. vii. Ep. 33. Opp. ii. 880.]

NOTE V, p. 228.

Plat. in Vit. Sabin. i. [p. 84. edit. Colon. Agripp. 1611.]

NOTE W, p. 228.

Plat. de Bonif. III. [Bonifacius Tertius, patria Romanus, a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut sedes B. Petri Apostoli, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, ita et decretur et haberetur ab omnibus.—p. 85.]

NOTE X, p. 228.

Genebrard. Chronol. de Bonif. III. [p. 479, edit. Lugd. 1609.]

NOTE Y, p. 228.

Plat. de Bonif. III. [. . . . quem quidem locum Ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur, faventibus interdum malis principibus, affirmantibusque eo loci primam sedem esse debere ubi imperii caput esset. 'Affirmabant Romani pontifices urbem Romam, unde Constantinopolim colonia deducta est, caput imperii merito habendam esse, cum etiam Græci ipsi litteris suis principem suum τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, id est, Romanorum imperatorem vocent, ipsique Constantinopolitani etiam ætate nostra Ῥωμαῖοι, non Græci vocentur. Omitto quod Petrus Apostolorum princeps successoribus suis pontificibus Romanis regni cœlorum claves dedit, potestatemque a Deo sibi concessam reliquit, non Constantinopoli, sed Romæ. —P. 15.]

NOTE Z, p. 229.

Innocent. III. Episc. Atinacensi, in lib. v. Decret. Constitut. [Cum scire debeas Apostolicam sedem consuetudinem in suis litteris hanc tenere, ut patriarchas, archiepiscopos et episcopos, fratres; cæteros autem reges, principes, vel alios cujuscumque ordinis, filios in nostris litteris appellemus.—Decretal. Greg. lib. 5. De crimine falsi, Tit. xx. cap. 6, tom. ii. 1751. Lugd. 1618.]

NOTE 2 A, p. 229.

Bishop Jewel's Defence of his Apology, part 4, [Chap. 8. div. 2 and 3.] Dr. Harding, ibid. [p. 385, edit. Lond. 1609.]

NOTE 2 B, p. 232.

Genebrard. Chronol. an. 413. [See pp. 436, 445, 449, 452, 463.]

NOTE 2 C, p. 232.

Alphons. Ciacco. de Vit. et Gest. Roman. in Vita Sylvestri. [i. 167. The words here quoted from Ciacconius are copied by him from Platina, p. 75.]

NOTE 2 D, p. 232.

Id. ibid. [i. 168. See Platina, p. 75, Genebrard. Chronol. p. 464.] ex Anastas. [Bibliothecar. de vitis Pontif. Roman. inter Hist. Byzant. Script. tom. xx. p. 21. edit. Venet. 1729.] Procop. de Bello Goth. lib. i. [cap. 14 et 25. pp. 28 et 46, inter Hist. Byzant. Script. tom. ii.] Evagr. [Hist. Eccl.] lib. iv. cap. 18. [p. 588, edit. Basil. 1611.]

NOTE 2 E, p. 233.

Onuph. [Panvinius] in vita Pelagii II. [In eo quod Platina scribit, Pelagium pontificem injussu principis creatum, nihilque tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum esse, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset, non ita curate rem hanc attigisse visus est, quæ sic habet. Gotthis Italia omni per Narse patricium pulsis, eaque cum urbe Roma, orientalis imperii parte facta, sub Justiniano imperatore, ex auctoritate papæ Vigilii novus quidam in comitiis pontificiis mos inolevit. Is fuit, ut mortuo papa, nova quidem electio more majorum statim a clero S. P. Q. R. fieret; verum electus Romanus pontifex non ante consecrari atque ab episcopis ordinari posset, quam ejus electio ab imperatore Constantinopolitano confirmata esset, ipseque litteris suis patentibus licentiam electo pontifici concederet ut ordinari et consecrari posset, atque ita jurisdictionem pontificatus tum obtineret . . . . Hoc autem ideo Justinianum imperatorem, vel ex ejus auctoritate Vigilium papam instituisse credendum est, ut imperator certus esset de conditionibus novi pontificis, cujus tum maxima esse auctoritas cœperat, imperatoribus præsertim Italia absentibus, ne aliquo pontifice factioso vel imperatoris hoste ordinato, urbs et Italia, eo auctore, ab orientali imperio deficeret, seque finitimis barbaris traderet, quod Silverium papam aliquando quæsiisse sibi persuadebat. —Annotat. in Platin. Pelag. II. p. 80.]

NOTE 2 F, p. 233.

Onuph. ubi supra. [Perduravit hæc consuetudo usque ad Benedictum Secundum.—p. 80.]

NOTE 2 G, p. 233.

Platin. in Vita Benedict. II. [Ad hunc autem Constantinus imperator, hominis sanctitate permotus, sanctionem misit ut deinceps quem clerus, populus, exercitusque Romanus in pontificem delegisset, eundem statim verum Christi vicarium esse, omnes crederent; nulla aut Constantinopolitani principis aut Italiæ exarchi exspectata auctoritate, ut antea fieri consueverat. p. 101.]

NOTE 2 H, p. 234.

Onuphr. in Vita Constantin. I. [Primus omnium Romanorum pontificum imperatori Græco Philippico, qui Justiniano juniore, orthodoxo principe occiso, imperium invaserat, in os resistere palam ausus fuit Constantinus papa.—Annot. in Platin. Vit. Constantini Primi, p. 108.]

NOTE 2 I, p. 234.

Sabellicus Ennead 8, lib. vii. [p. 172, edit. Basil. 1659.]

NOTE 2 J, p. 234.

Blondus Decad. I. lib. x. [pp. 143, 144, edit. Basil. 1559.]

NOTE 2 K, p. 234.

Papir. Masson. lib. iii. in Vit. Greg. II. [fol. 126, vers. edit. Par. 1586.] Blondus, ibid. [p. 144.]

NOTE 2 L, p. 234.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Greg. II. [i. 243.]

NOTE 2 M, p. 235.

Papir. Masson. in Vit. Gregor. II. [Vigilantia et sanctimonia Gregorii II. ex episcopis Romanis magnos principes tandem facict successores suos; cujus rei principium quidem difficile, progressus facilior, felix faustusque exitus fuit; ut merito possim Virgilianum illud usurpare,

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Atque cum versum ad Pontifices trahere, qui principatum suum aut nulli aut huic Gregorio debent. fol. 126. vers. edit. Paris. 1596.]

Note 2 N, p. 235.

Platin. in Vit. Steph. II. [p. 114.]

Note 2 O, p. 235.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Steph. III. [i. 256, whose narrative is founded on that of Platina in Vit. Steph. II. p. 115.]

Note 2 P, p. 235.

Marian. Scotus [ap. Struvii Rerum Germ. Script. iii. 634, edit. Ratisb. 1726.]

Herman. Contract. [ad an. 773, in Canisii Lectiones Antiq. iii. 242, edit. Basnage, fol. Amst. 1725.]

Platin. in Adrian. I. [p. 119.]

Note 2 Q, p. 236.

Sigebert. [Gemblac. Chronographia] an. 781. [ap. Struv. Rer. Germ. Script. iii. 781.]

Otho Frising, lib. v. cap. 28. [edit. Pithoei, fol. Basil. 1569.]

Sigebert. an. 800. [p. 784.]

Platin. in Leon. III. [p. 123.]

Note 2 R, p. 236.

Sigebert. an. 781. [A.D. 801. Romani, qui ab imperatore Constantinopolitano jam diu animo desciverant, nunc accepta occasionis opportunitate, quia mulier, excœcato imperatore Constantino, filio suo, eis imperabat, uno omnium consensu, Carolo regi imperatorias laudes acclamant, eumque per manum Leonis papæ coronant, Cæsarem et Augustum appellant; Pipinum vero filium ejus, regem Italiæ ordinatum collaudant. p. 785.]

Note 2 S, p. 237.

Distinct. 63. Adrianus [c. xxii. *Ex Hist. Eccl.* Deinde Romam reversus, constituit ibi synodum cum Hadriano papa in patriarchio Lateranensi in ecclesia S. Salvatoris, quæ synodus celebrata est a cliii episcopis, religiosis, et abbatibus. Hadrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt Carolo jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem. Dignitatem quoque patriciatus ei concesserunt. Insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per sin-

gulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere diffinivit, et ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur, episcopus a nemine consecretur; et quicunque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit; et nisi resipisceret, bona ejus publicari præcepit.—Decret. Gratiani, col. 322. edit. Taur. 1620.]

NOTE 2 T, p. 237.

Platin. in Vita Pasch. I. [p. 125.]

NOTE 2 U, p. 237.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Pasch. I. [Idem quoque etiam concessit ut Romani novum pontificem, pro judicio suo crearent, modo sine tumultu et largitione, et creatum consecrarent; dummodo pontifex se per legatos de sua consecratione commonefaceret, et pacem secum sanciret. i. 282.]

NOTE 2 V, p. 238.

Distinct. 63. Ego Ludovicus. [c. xxx. Et dum consecratus fuerit, legati ad nos, vel ad nostros successores, regem Francorum dirigantur; qui inter nos et illum, amicitiam et charitatem ac pacem socient.—Col. 329, edit. Taur. 1620.]

NOTE 2 W, p. 238.

Distinct. 63. In synodo. [c. xxiii.... Ego quoque Leo episcopus servus servorum Dei, cum toto clero et Romano populo, constituimus et confirmamus.... domino Othoni primo regi Teutonicorum.... facultatem eligendi successorem, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi.... Si quis contra hanc regulam et apostolicam auctoritatem aliquid molietur, hunc excommunicationi subjacere decernimus; et nisi resipuerit, irrevocabili exilio vel ultimis suppliciis affici.—Col. 323.]

NOTE 2 X, p. 238.

Sigebert [A.D. 1046, p. 834.]
Genebr. Chronol. [A.D. 1046, p. 584.]

NOTE 2 Y, p. 239.

Genebr. Chronol. sæculo 10. [Hoc vero uno infelix quod per annos fere 150 pontifices circiter 50, a Joanne scilicet 8, qui Nicolao et Adriano 2. sanctis pontificibus successit, ad Leonem 9 usque, qui primus a Deo vocatus velut alter Aaron, antiquam pontificum

integritatem e cœlo in sedem Apostolicam revocavit, a virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, apotactici, apostaticive, potius quam apostolici. p. 553.]

NOTE 2 Z, p. 239.

Otho Frising. lib. vi. cap. 33. [edit. 1569.]
Platin. in Leon. ix. [p. 171.]

NOTE 3 A, p. 239.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Leon. IX. [i. 379.]

NOTE 3 B, p. 239.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vit. Nicol. II. [i. 396.]
Genebr. Chronol. [Tunc primum Lateranensi concilio Romanorum pontificum electio ad Cardinales episcopos est delata, ita tamen ut a clericis Cardinalibus reliquoque clero et populo Romano comprobanda esset. p. 588.]

NOTE 3 C, p. 239.

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Alexand. II. [i. 400.]
Genebr. Chronol. [Statuit ne quis ecclesiastica beneficia ab ullo laico accipiat, quod tunc simonia dicebatur. p. 588.]

NOTE 3 D, p. 239.

Otho Frising. lib. vi. cap. 1. [fol. Basil. 1569.]
Godefrid. Viterbiens. Chronol. Part. 17. [Vide, ad quantum defectum Romanum imperium devenerit, scilicet, ut in tres partes diviso regno Francorum, tertiæ partis tertia pars esset ejus imperium. Struv. Script. Rer. Germ. ii. 317.]

NOTE 3 E, p. 241.

Benno Cardinal. in Vita Hildebr. [ap. Ortv. Gratii Fascic. Rerum Expetendar. i. 78, edit. Lond. 1690.]
Funccius in Comment. Chronol. lib. x. [A.D. 1074, edit. Witteb. 1578.]
Platin. in Greg. 7. [p. 176.]
Lamb. Schafnaburg. de Reb. German. [A.D. 1073, inter Rerum Germ. Script. edit. Struv. i. 354, fol. Ratisb. 1726.]

NOTE 3 F, p. 241.

Aventin. Annal. [Boiorum, sive Veteris Germaniæ,] lib. v. [p. 347, edit. Francof. 1637.]

NOTE 3 G, p. 242.

Lamb. Schafnaburg. an. 1077. [inter Rerum Germ. Script. edit. Struv. i. 418, 419.]

NOTE 3 H, p. 242.

Platin. in Greg. VII. [p. 178.]

[Conradi a Liethithenaw] Abbatis Urspergens. Chron. [p. 170. Argentorat. 1609.

NOTE 3 I, p. 242.

Genebr. Chronol. [Notuit enim pati ut istius voluntas requireretur in eligendo Romano pontifice, item ut episcopatus imperii terminis inclusos imperator pro suo arbitrio distribueret. p. 591.]

NOTE 3 K, p. 242.

Otho Frising. lib. vi. cap. 35. [edit. 1569.]

NOTE 3 L, p. 242.

Otho Frising. de Gestis Fred. [primi] lib. i. cap. 1. [edit. 1569.]

Sigebert. [Gemblac.] in an. 1085. [ap. Struv. Rerum Germ. Script. i. 847. Vincent. [Bellovac.] in Spec. Hist. lib. xxv. cap. 84. [p. 1031, edit. Duac. 1624.]

NOTE 3 M, p. 243.

Abbas Urspergens. [pp. 169, 170.]

Lamb. Schafnab. an. 1077. [ap. Struv. Rerum Germ. Script. i. 419.]

Plat. in Greg. VII. [pp. 178, 179, 180.]

NOTE 3 N, p. 243.

Aventin. Annal. lib. v. [p. 351, 352.]

NOTE 3 O, p. 243.

Aventin. Annal. lib. v. [p. 354.]

Matth. Paris. in Gulielmo I. [A.D. 1078, p. 8, edit. Par. 1644.]

Paulus Langius, an 1078. [ap. Struv. Rerum Germ. Script. i. 1144.]

NOTE 3 P, p. 244.

Aventin. Annal. lib. v. [p. 351, 352.]

NOTE 3 Q, p. 244.

Genebr. Chronol. [Vir dignus pontificatu ad deprimendum politicorum supercilium. Monarchos terruit nominis sui et zeli claritate. Captivitatem Ecclesiæ et servitutem quam a principibus patiebatur, restituit, ululantibus Centuratoribus. . . . Laudatissimus et zelo singularis, vereque apostolicus. A.D. 1087. p. 591.

Pontifex proceres et populum sacramento præstito sancte solvit, et ut Rudulpho adhærcant sanctius imperat. p. 592.]

NOTE 3 R, p. 245.

Aventin. Annal. lib. v. [p. 353.]

Benno Cardinalis [de Vita et Gestis Hildebrandi, ap. Ort. Grat. Fascic. Rerum Expetend. i. 178.]

NOTE 3 S, p. 245.

Aventin. ubi supra [pp. 347, 349, 351.]

NOTE 3 T, p. 245. [See Aventin. p. 358.]

NOTE 3 U, p. 246.

Aventin. lib. vi. [p. 387.]

NOTE 3 V, p. 246.

Radevicus de Gestis Frederici [Imp. I.] lib. i. cap. 10. [inter Urstitii Germ. Hist. Script. p. 482, edit. Francof. 1585.]

Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Innocentii II. [i. 501.]

NOTE 3 W, p. 247.

Carion. Chron. lib. iv. [p. 623, edit. Genev. 1625.] Alphons. Ciaccon. in Vita Alexand. III. [p. 585.] Genebr. Chronol. [p. 622.] Ranulphus [Monachus Cestriæ] in Polychron. lib. vii. [MS.]

NOTE 3 X, p. 247.

Pontif. Rom. Gregor. XIII. par. 1. [*De processione ad ecclesiam Lateranensem.* . . . Cum papa per scalam ascendit equum, major princeps, qui præsens adest, etiam si rex esset aut imperator, stapham equi papalis tenet, et deinde ducit equum per frenum aliquantulum.

. . . . Coram papa serviant laici majores et nobiliores, etiam si essent reges; coram cardinalibus et aliis omnibus, familiares eorum digniores. —Pp. 49, 51, edit. Venet. 1582.]

Ceremoniale Rom. lib. i. [sect. iii. Nobilior laicus, etiam imperator aut rex, aquam ad lavandas pontificis manus primo ferat, hoc ordine. . . . . Et si imperator aut rex aquam ferre debet cum aliquibus etiam principibus sociatus, imperatorem aut regem ad credentiam ducit.—Fol. 43. b. edit. Colon. 1572.]

Note 3 Y, p. 247.

Aventin. lib. vi. [Sacrosanctam philosophiam divinitus a Spiritu Sancto editam, interpretando suis moribus aptam faciunt, ambitioni suæ servire cogunt; scita decretaque Christi non servare sed servire sibi volunt.—p. 371. edit. Francof. 1627.]

Note 3 Z, p. 247.

Abbas Urspergens. [A.D. 1107. p. 193.] Aventin. lib. vi. [p. 374.]

Note 4 A, p. 248.

Aventin. lib. vi. [p. 390. Unde igitur habet imperium, nisi a nobis? Ex electione principum suorum habet nomen regis; ex consecratione nostra habet nomen imperatoris, et Augusti, et Cæsaris Ergo, per nos imperat. . . . Imperator quod habet, totum habet a nobis. . . . Ecce, in potestate nostra est, ut demus illud cui volumus. Propterea constituti a Deo super gentes et regna, ut destruamus, et evellamus, et ædificemus, et plantemus, &c.]

Note 4 B, p. 248.

Innoc. III. in festo D. Sylvest. Papæ, Serm. I. [Fuit ergo B. Sylvester sacerdos, non solum magnus sed maximus, pontificali et regali potestate sublimis; Illius quidem vicarius, Qui est Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, Sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, ut spiritualiter possit intelligi dictum ad ipsum et successores illius quod ait B. Petrus Apostolus, primus et præcipuus prædecessor ipsorum, 'Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.' Hos enim elegit Dominus ut essent sacerdotes et reges. Nam vir Constantinus egregius imperator, ex revelatione divina per B. Sylvestrum fuit a lepra in baptismo mundatus, urbem pariter et senatum cum hominibus et dignitatibus suis, et omne regnum occidentis ei tradidit et dimisit; secedens et ipse Byzantium et regnum sibi retinens orientis.—P. 96. Opp. edit. Colon. 1575.]

NOTE 4 C, p. 248.

In Fest. SS. Petri et Pauli, Serm. II. [Altitudo maris istius de qua Christus dixit ad Petrum, 'Duc in altum,' est Roma, quæ primatum et principatum super universum seculum obtinebat, et obtinet.—p. 135.]

NOTE 4 D, p. 249.

In Consecrat. Rom. Pontif. Serm. II. [Equidem constitutus sum super familiam, ut sicut excellentissimus mihi est locus, ita sit et excellentissimum meritum. . . . Mihi namque dicitur, in Propheta, 'Constitui te super gentes et regna, ut evellas et destruas,' &c. . . . Jam ergo videtis quis sit iste servus, qui super familiam constituitur. profectus vicarius Jesu Christi, successor Petri, Christus Domini, Deus Pharaonis; inter Deum et hominem medius constitutus: citra Deum, sed ultra hominem; minor Deo, sed major homine; qui de omnibus judicat, et a nemine judicatur.—P. 189.]

NOTE 4 E, p. 249.

Innocent. Patriarch. Constant. Epist. Decret. lib. ii. [Nam cum aquæ multæ sint populi multi, congregationesque aquarum sint maria, per hoc quod Petrus super aquas maris incessit, super universos populos se potestatem accepisse monstravit.—Opp. ii. 514.]

NOTE 4 F, p. 249.

Innocentius Tertius Imperatori Constantinopol. [Opp. ii. 516.]

NOTE 4 G, p. 250.

Matth. Paris in Johan. [A.D. 1213, p. 170, edit. 1644.] Abbas Ursperg. [no such circumstance is there mentioned.] Genebr. Chronol. [p. 639] Plat. in Innoc. III. [pp. 214, 215.]

NOTE 4 H, p. 250.

Concil. Lateran. [IV.] can. iii. [Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hac hæretica fœditate, per metropolitanum et cæteros comprovinciales episcopos excommunicationis vinculo innodetur. Et, si satisfacere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc summo pontifici, ut ex tunc ipse vassallos ab ejus fidelitate denuncict absolutos, et terram exponat Catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hæreticis sine ulla contradictione possideant, et in fidei puritate conservent.] Oper. Innoc. tom. i. [Labb. Concil. xi. 148.]

NOTE 4 I, p. 250.

Extravag. [Commun. lib. i.] De majoritate et obed. *Unam Sanctam.* [cap. 1. In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis, 'Ecce duo gladii hic,' in Ecclesia scilicet, cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus, nimis esse, sed, 'Satis.' Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentis, 'Converte gladium tuum in vaginam.' Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiæ, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. Nam cum dicat Apostolus, 'Non est potestas nisi a Deo, quæ autem sunt a Deo ordinata sunt.' Non autem ordinata essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in suprema. . . . Nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet, et indicare, si bona non fuerit; sic de Ecclesia et ecclesiastica potestate verificatur vaticinium Heremiæ, 'Ecce, constitui te hodie super gentes et regna' et cætera quæ sequuntur. Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali, sed si deviat spiritualis minor, a suo superiori; si vero suprema, a solo Deo, non ab homine poterit judicari, testante Apostolo, 'Spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur.' . . . . Quicunque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatæ resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichæus, fingat esse principia; quod falsum et hæreticum judicamus, quia testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio, cœlum Deus creavit et terram.

Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—Col. 207, edit. Taur. 1620.]

NOTE 4 K, p. 251.—[See note 4 A.]

NOTE 4 L, p. 251.

Joan. Marius de Schism. part ii. cap. 18. [Bonifacius siquidem ter coronam imperii Alberto Austriaco denegaverat, et gladio accinctus dixerat se esse Cæsarem Augustum, imperatorem, ac dominum mundi, nec alium quemquam.—Ad calcem Theod. a Niem. Hist. sui temporis, p. 617, edit. Argent. 1609.]

Carion. Chronica [p. 667, edit. Genev. 1625.]

NOTE 4 M, p. 252.

Gab. Biel. Expos. Can. Miss. lect. 23, ex Eusebio. [Refert etiam Eusebius Cæsariensis quod excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Romani pontificis super alias.—Fol. 39, b. col. 1. edit. Lugd. 1542.]

NOTE 4 N, p. 253.

Genebrard Chron. [A.D. 1133. Tunc et Theologia Scholastica sive Disputatrix de suo incremento meditatur.—P. 613.]

NOTE 4 O, p. 253.—Aventin. lib. vi. [p. 383.]

NOTE 4 P, p. 253.

Tho. Aquin. de Regim. Princ. lib. iii. cap. 10. [Propter quod oportet dicere in Summo Pontifice esse plenitudinem omnium gratiarum, ipse solus confert plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, ut competat sibi quod de primo principe Domino dicimus, quia de plenitudine ejus nos omnes accepimus.—D. Thomæ Aquinatis Opuscula, p. 177, edit. Antv. 1612:]

Id. ib. c. 19. [In duobus igitur casibus ampliatur ejus potestas, ut patet supra, vel ratione delicti, vel ad bonum totius fidei, quod eleganter nobis ostendit Propheta Heremias, cui in persona vicarii Christi dicitur, 'Ecce,' inquit, 'constitui te super gentes'. . . . id. p. 181.

Sicut ergo corpus per animam habet esse, virtutem et operationem, ut ex verbis Philosophi et Augustini de Immortalitate Animæ patet, ita et temporalis jurisdictio principum per spiritualem Petri et successorum ejus. Cujus quidem argumentum assumi potest per ea quæ invenimus in actis et gestis Summorum Pontificum et Imperatorum, quia temporali jurisdictioni cesserunt. Primo quidem de Constantino apparet, qui Sylvestro in imperio cessit. Item, de Carolo Magno, quem papa Adrianus imperatorem constituit. Idem de Ottone I. qui per Leonem creatus et imperator est constitutus, ut historiæ referunt, sed ex dispositione principum authoritate apostolica facta, satis apparet ipsorum potestas. Primo enim invenimus de Zacharia hanc potestatem exercuisse super regem Francorum, quia ipsum a regno deposuit et omnes barones a juramento fidelitatis absolvit. Item, de Innocentio III. qui Ottoni IV. imperium abstulit, sed et Frederico II. hoc idem accidit per Honorium Innocentii immediatum successorem.—Id. cap. 10. p. 177.]

NOTE 4 Q, p. 254.

Ibidem, cap. xx. [Secundam coronam, quæ aurea est, a summo

percepit Pontifice, et cum pede sibi porrigitur, in signum suæ subjectionis et fidelitatis ad Romanam ecclesiam.—P. 181.]

Note 4 R, p. 255.

2ª 2ᵉ q. 12, art. 2. [*Utrum princeps propter apostasiam a fide, amittat dominium in subditos, ita quod ei obedire non teneantur.*

Videtur quod princeps propter apostasiam a fide non amittat dominium in subditos, quin ei teneantur obedire. Dicit enim Ambros. et habetur 11. q. 3. quod Julianus Imperator, quamvis esset apostata, habuit tamen sub se Christianos milites, quibus cum dicebat 'Producite aciem pro defensione reipublicæ,' obediebant ei. Ergo, propter apostasiam principis, subditi non absolvuntur ab ejus dominio.

2. Præterea, apostata a fide infidelis est; sed infidelibus dominis inveniuntur aliqui sancti viri fideliter servisse, sicut Joseph Pharaoni, et Daniel Nabuchodonosor, et Mardochæus Assuero, Ergo, propter apostasiam a fide non est dimittendum, quin principi obediatur a subditis. . . .

Sed contra est quod Gregorius VII. dicit, Nos sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut juramenti sacramento sunt constricti, apostolica authoritate sacramento absolvimus, et ne sibi fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quousque ad satisfactionem perveniant; sed apostatæ a fide sunt excommunicati, sicut et hæretici. . . . ergo principibus apostantibus a fide non est obediendum.

Respondeo,. . . . ad primum ergo dicendum quod illo tempore Ecclesia in sui novitate nondum habebat potestatem terrenos principes compescendi, et ideo toleravit fideles Juliano apostatæ obedire in his quæ nondum erant contra fidem, ut majus periculum fidei vitaretur.

Ad secundum dicendum quod alia ratio est de infidelibus aliis, qui nunquam fidem susceperunt.]

Note 4 S, p. 256.

Aug. Hunnæ[i] Epist. ad Pium V. in Summa Aquinat. [Urbanus sedis Apostolicæ eximius cultor, Jesu viri excellentem doctrinam admiratus, et veluti cœlitus delapsam, ad innatam humanis mentibus ignorantiæ caliginem depellendam, suscipiens, ad eam discendam gravissime hortatur; et Tolosanæ academiæ theologis ut in disputationibus, et suis de fide et moribus responsis, potissimum sequantur præcepit. Innocentius vero in ejusdem sedis Apostolicæ suprema dignitate locatus, tanti hujus, de quo loquimur, viri doctrinam fecit, ut ei primum post canonicam Scripturam locum tribuere non dubitaverit.—Edit. fol. Antv. 1585.]

NOTE 4 T, p. 256.

Surius de Sanctorum Hist. tom. ii. Martii 7. [p. 84, edit. 1618. The Bull of Canonization is dated 7 Kal. Aug. 1323, see Bullar. Magn. 1, 226, Lugd. 1655; Bzovii Annal. A.D. 1274, § 20; Raynald. Annal. A.D. 1323, § 64.]

NOTE 4 U, p. 257.

Genebr. Chronol. [A.D. 533. Justinianus. . . . duo fere per eosdem librorum millia in 53 digessit et absolvit, an. 533, unde Digesta sive Pandectæ.—P. 462.]

NOTE 4 V, p. 257.

Abbas Ursperg. [p. 209. in marg. edit. 1609.] Carion. Chron. [p. 337, edit. 1625.]

NOTE 4 W, p. 257.

Petr. Gregor. Partition. Juris. Canon. lib. i. cap. 1. [Composuit igitur vir venerabilis Gratianus monachus S. Felicis Bononiensis, ordinis S. Benedicti, vir in divinis Scripturis eruditissimus et mirabili studio flagrans, ingenio promptus et clarus eloquio, vita quoque et conversatione insignis, Decretorum volumen insigne ex veterum statutis, sanctionibus et scriptis, quo juris canonici professores usque in præsens utuntur in scholis, ab Eugenio papa tertio approbatum. —Gratiani Vita præfix. Decret. Gratiani, edit. Paris. 1531.]

NOTE 4 X, p. 257.—Aventin. lib. vi. [p. 383.]

NOTE 4 Y, p. 258.

Decret. Grat. impress. Paris. anno 1510. [In the edition of Paris, 1531, the rubric prefixed to the first Distinction is this; 'Decretum Aureum domini Gratiani, in quo est discordantium Canonum Concordia.' No notice of the edition of Paris, 1510, is found in Mattaire's Annales Typograph., but he quotes (V. i. 453) the edition of Paris, 1518, which however reads 'domini Gratiani,' not 'divi Gratiani.']

NOTE 4 Z, p. 258.—Genebr. Chronol. [p. 641.]

NOTE 5 A, p. 258.

In fine Clem. [Hæc sane felicis recordationis Clemens papa V. prædecessor noster prudenter attendens, et provide cupiens deforma-

torum reformationi prospicere, solvere difficilia, ac sanctiones quæstionibus et negotiis imminentibus consonas promulgare; dudum nedum in Concilio Viennensi, quin etiam antea et post ipsum Concilium, constitutiones plurimas edidit, in quibus multa utilia statuit atque salubria, et nonnulla dubia in judiciis et extra frequentata decidit. Et licet eas collectas in unum volumen, et sub congruis titulis collocatas, mittere decrevisset, et dare in commune subjectis, assidua tamen occupatio circa magna, et sortis humanæ conditio, quæ ipsum de medio sustulit, in causa fuerunt quare suum in hac parte propositum non implevit.—Procem. in Decret. Clementis Papæ Quinti, ap. Lib. Sext. Decretal. &c. col. 4, (second series of pages,) edit. Taur. 1620.]

NOTE 5 A*, p. 259.

Genebrard. Chron. [A.D. 1133, p. 612.]

NOTE 5 B, p. 259.

Intitul. Extravag. [Extravagantes Decretales, quæ a diversis Romanis pontificibus post Sextum emanaverunt.—Liber Sextus Decretal. &c. col. 181, (third series of pages,) edit. Taur. 1620.]

Extravag. de pœnit. et remiss. Etsi. [Datum Spiræ, A.D. M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Id. col. 359.]

NOTE 5 B*, p. 260.

Dominic. Soto de Jure et Justit. lib. iv. quæst. 4, artic. 2, [see this author in 4 Sent. Dist. 25, q. 2. art. 1, p. 607, edit. Duac. 1613;] Barth. Casanæus in Catalog. Glor. Mundi, part. 5, consid. 29. [p. 240, edit. August. Taur. 1617] [Martini ab Azpilcueta, Doctoris] Navarr. in cap. Novit. [Opp. tom. ii. p. 99, edit. Col. 1616.]

NOTE 5 C, p. 259.

Petrus Matthæus in summa Constitut. præfat. ad Sixtum Quintum. [The following is the title of the work here quoted.—'Septimus Decretalium, constitutionum apostolicarum post Sextum, Clementinas et Extravagantes usque in hodiernum diem editarum continuatio, cum notis et scholiis.' 8vo. Franc. ad Mœn. 1590.]

NOTE 5 C*, p. 260.

Barth. Cassan. ibid. [p. 240.] Ferd. Vasquez, Controv. lib. i. cap. 20, 21.

NOTE 5 D, p. 261.—Carion. Chron. [p. 677.]

NOTE 5 E, p. 261.

Genebr. Chronol. [p. 641.]

NOTE 5 F, p. 261.

Ferdin. Vasquez. ut supra.
Barth. Cassan. ut supra.

NOTE 5 G, p. 263.

Stanisl. Orichovius in Chimæra.

NOTE 5 H, p. 263.

Navarr. Relect. c. Novit. in 3 Notabil. [Opp. tom. ii. p. 97.]

NOTE 5 I, p. 264.

Johan. de Paris. tract. de Potest. Regia et Papali [Edit. Paris. 1506, quarto.]

Bellarm. de Sum. Pont. lib. v. cap. 1. [Nos ergo tria tractabimus. Primo, ostendemus pontificem jure divino non habere directe temporalem potestatem. Secundo, habere eum aliquo modo, id est, ratione suæ spiritualis monarchiæ summam potestatem etiam temporalem. Tertio, non esse contra jus divinum quod episcopi habeant etiam actu et directe jurisdictionem temporalem in urbes et provincias sibi donatas a regibus, vel alio justo titulo acquisitas.—Col. 1083.]

Didac. Covarruvias 2 part. Relect. § 9. [p. 539. edit. Venet. 1588. Qua in re ut quod obiter attigimus summatim explicemus, est omnino et diligenter observandum, sic datam fuisse immediate a Christo Jesu summam potestatem Petro, ut et ab Ipso Redemptore nostro Petri successoribus immediate eadem potestas et idem primatus datus esse ex catholica doctrina constet. Ipsis vero Apostolis sic data fuit a Christo Jesu potestas ordinis ac jurisdictionis ipsi Petro principi summo subdita, ut in episcopos Apostolorum successores jurisdictionis potestas minime transmissa ex immediata Christi concessione censeatur, sed ea ex summo pontifice Christi vicario ex ejus concessione ipsis episcopis competat, ac tandem eidem Romano pontifici subdita sit.]

NOTE 5 J, p. 264.

Abbas Urspergens. an. 1076. [p. 169.] Aventin. lib. v. [p. 349.]

NOTE 5 K, p. 265.

Urspergens. an. 1080. [p. 171.] Aventin. lib. v. [p. 355.]

NOTE 5 L, p. 265.

Aventin. lib. vi. [pp. 375, 376.]

NOTE 5 M, p. 265.

Aventin. lib. vi. [pp. 375,376.]

NOTE 5 N, p. 265.

Matth. Paris. in Hen. III. [p. 239, 240. edit. 1644.] Aventin. lib. vii. [p. 412.]

NOTE 5 O, p. 266.

Aventin. lib. iii. [Deinde hujusccmodi orationem archimystam habuisse reperio. . . . Quos (*sc.* falsos prophetas) ex spinis atque operibus, nempe avaritia, luxu, contentione, odio, invidia, bellis, discordiæ malis, libidine dominandi, ambitione cognosci oportere docuit. . . . . Romani flamines arma in omnes habent Christianos, audendo, fallendo, et bella ex bellis serendo magni facti, oves trucidant. . . . — Lib. vii. p. 420.

Qui sitis, opera vestra ostendunt. Opes, potentiam, divitias, honores, voluptates, munera concupiscitis, appetitis, adamatis; pro hisce victi cupiditate pejus Turcis, Saracenis armis decertatis.— Id. p. 423.

In memoria habete quid ante duodecim annos ille sane egregius Decimus cum decimis egerit, idem Quartus cum quartis aget, ut illas Gregorius vigilantissimus a nobis emungeret, Scythas, Arabes, Turcas, in nos armavit. Mentiar nisi hosce, nempe maximum vectigal, magis salvos quam nos esse velit.—Id. pp. 440, 441.]

NOTE 5 P, p. 266.—Aventin. ut supra.

[. . . . aliter nunquam committam ut tam stultus videar ut e manu manubrium mihi eripi patiar, aut memet ultro atque meos ludibrio effeminatis Antichristis atque prodigiosis eunuchis esse sinam. . . . Pejores Turcis, Saracenis, Tartaris, Judæis, sunt; plus his omnibus Christianæ simplicitati officiunt; libertatem Christi sanguine partam excindere conantur; dominationem arripiunt. p. 444.]

NOTE 5 Q, p. 267.

Marsil. Patavin. Jo. Gandaven. Luit. de Berbenburg. Andr. bishop of Fruxin. Ulric. Hangenor. [Extant hujusccmodi consilia theolo-

gorum in bibliothecis in membranis scripta, contra Vicesimum Secundum: libros quoque edunt hi amici Ludovici; Marsilius Patavinus, Joannes Gandunensis, Luitpoldus de Bebenburg, Andreas Laudensis mysta Fruxinensis, Augustæ magister epistolarum, Ulricus Hangenor Augusta ortus, sacro Cæsaris scrinio præfectus, Dantes Algerius Florentinus . . . . Iisdem diebus Wilhelmum Occamensem, Franciscanum Theologum præstantissimum atque dialecticum suæ tempestatis acutissimum, duos collegas ejus, Bonam Gratiam Bergomensem et Michaelem Cæsenatem Franciscanorum antistitem primarium, sacrarum literarum, utriusque juris professores, cum sacris Antonii Patavini, Monachium ad Ludovicum venisse reperio. Wilhelmus is, Anglia ortus, sectam recentiorum peripateticorum, . . . ab omnibus academiis fere explosam instauravit. Ad Ludovicum dixisse ferunt, Tu nos pugnis, ense, ferro, armis, a servitute assere; nos te lingua, calamo, litteris, stylo, libris, verbis vendicabimus. Atque illi omnes certatim diserti in Romanum pontificem invecti sunt: ratiocinationes, captiones ejusdem confutant, argumenta diluunt; testimonio divini humanique juris probant Joannem libidine dominandi insanire.—p. 468.]

Note 5 R, p. 267.

Dante Aligerius, Will. Ockam, Bona Gratiæ, Mich. Cæsenates, Anton. Patavin. [See the last Note, where these authors are mentioned.]

Note 5 S, p. 267.

Aventin. lib. vii. [See the passage quoted in the preceding Note.]

Note 5 T, p. 267.

Ibid. [Monstrum biceps, mundanus et spiritalis esse contendit.—p. 447.]

Note 5 U, p. 267.—Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. v. cap. 1.

[Secundo, objiciunt Scripturam Lucæ 22, ubi Dominus duos gladios Petro concedit.

Respondeo, ad litteram nullam fieri mentionem in eo loco Evangelii de gladio spirituali vel temporali pontificis, sed solum Dominum illis verbis admonere voluisse discipulos, tempore passionis suæ in iis angustiis et metu ipsos futuros fuisse, in quibus esse solent qui tunicam vendunt ut emant gladium, ut ex Theophylacto aliisque Patribus colligitur. Porro beatus Bernardus et Bonifacius papa mystice interpretati sunt hunc locum, nec volunt dicere eodem modo habere pontificem gladium utrumque, sed alio, et alio modo, ut postea exponemus.

Bellarm. *ibid.* Sed occurrunt quidam atque objiciunt, primo, verba Domini, Matth. 28. *Data est Mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.* Hinc enim colligi videtur Christum habuisse spirituale et terrenum regnum. Utriusque autem regni claves Petro attribuit, ut Nicolaus ait in epistola ad Michaelem, "Christus," inquit, "beato Petro, vitæ æternæ clavigero, terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit."

Respondeo, potestatem de qua hic loquitur Dominus, non esse potestatem temporalem, ut regum terrenorum, sed vel tantum spiritualem, ut beatus Hieronymus et beatus Anselmus exponunt, qui hunc esse volunt sensum eorum verborum: *Data est Mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et terra;* id est, ut sicut in cœlo Rex sum angelorum, ita per fidem regnem in cordibus hominum, vel (ut addit Theophylactus,) esse potestatem quandam summam in omnes creaturas, non temporalem, sed divinam, vel divinæ simillimam, quæ non potest communicari homini mortali.

Ad testimonium Nicolai dico inprimis, illud citari a Gratiano, distin. 22, can. *Omnes,* sed non inveniri inter epistolas Nicolai papæ.

Addo secundo, si revera ea sit Nicolai papæ sententia, hunc habere sensum, Christus Petro terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit, id est, Christus Petro concessit, ut quod ille solveret aut ligaret in terris, esset solutum aut ligatum et in cœlis. Allusit enim Nicolaus ad verba Domini, Matth. 16. Nec possumus aliter exponere, nisi velimus Nicolaum secum pugnare, qui in epistola ad Michaelem diserte docet Christum distinxisse actus, officia, et dignitates pontificis et imperatoris, ne aut imperator jura pontificis, aut pontifex jura imperatoris præsumeret usurpare. . . . . .

Id. p. 1084. *Papam non esse dominum totius mundi* . . . . Primum probatur, Papa non est dominus earum provinciarum quas obtinent infideles; nam inprimis Dominus (Joannis ultimo) solum oves suas Petro commisit; infideles autem non sunt oves. Deinde, non potest papa judicare infideles, 1 Cor. 5. *Quid ad me de his qui foris sunt, judicare?* Denique, infideles principes sunt veri et supremi principes suorum regnorum, nam dominium non fundatur in gratia, aut fide, sed in libero arbitrio et ratione, nec descendit ex jure divino, sed ex jure gentium, ut patet ex eo quod Deus approbat regna gentilium in utroque Testamento . . . . Ridiculum autem est, dedisse Deum papæ jus in regna totius mundi, et non dedisse illi unquam facultatem utendi ejusmodi jure.]

NOTE 5 V, p. 271.—Catharin. in Ep. ad Roman. c. 13.

[Non desunt tamen plerique quibus non sufficit quod satis est, ne dicam nimium. Sunt enim qui, ut dixi, magno in Ecclesiam odio, vel

pontificum moribus irritati, hunc gladium omnino negant et auferunt ab ecclesiasticis. Et sunt contra, qui sive id per adulationem faciant, sive per nimiam simplicitatem, aiunt ad summum pontificem de jure pertinere omnem totius orbis terræ dominationem, etiam temporalem, cum sit summus Christi in terris vicarius. Domini autem est terra et plenitudo ejus, orbis terrarum, et qui habitant in eo. Addunt Christum dixisse, Omnia Mihi tradita sunt a Patre.

Verum ridicula hæc profecto, quæ neque ipsimet pontifices auderent asserere. Si enim ita esset, nulli ergo vere terrarum domini essent in temporalibus, sed solus pontifex dominus esset: et ceteri, etiam quoad temporalia, sub illo . . . . Quod autem papa sit vicarius Christi, quid habet momenti ut credamus data esse illi ad regendum omnia regna mundi in temporalibus? Imo id potius efficit ut persuadeamur ei non data, quoniam Christus abjecit ea, et ut Homo erat, in mundo non habuit.—Comment. in D. Pauli Epp. p. 119. edit. fol. Venet. 1551.]

Note 5 W, p. 271.

[Boet. Epon.] Heroic. qu. 5.

[Liber harum quæstionum quintus, qui est, ne clerici vel monachi secularibus negotiis si immisceant. Duac. 1588.]

Note 5 X, p. 272.

Henr. Quodl. 6. qu. 23. Jo. Driedo, lib. ii. de Lib. Christ. cap. 2. Jo. de Turrecremata Sum. lib. ii. 113. et seq. Alb. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. lib. v. Tho. Waldens. [tom. i.] lib. ii. Doct. Fid. art. 3. cap. 76, 77, 78. [The arguments of these chapters are as follows; Ad argumentum de regalia Christi temporali respondet, cap. lxxvi. Quod Christus convincitur rex non fuisse temporalis ex testibus veris, cap. lxxvii. Quod potestas et regalis auctoritas sit immediate a Deo donata, cap. lxxviii. Edit. Ascens. fol. Paris, 1532.] Petrus de Palude, de Potest. Ecclesiastica. Cajetan. in Apol. c. 13. ad 6. Fr. Victoria, de Pot. Eccles. q. 2. Dominic. à Soto in 4. Distinct. 25. q. 2. art. 1. [p. 607. edit. 1613.]

VARIOUS READINGS

From the manuscript copy of the first book of Overall's Convocation Book formerly belonging to Bishop Barlow, and now in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford[a].

P. 1, n. b. The Barlow MS. agrees with *B.* except that for 'Scripture' it reads 'Scriptures.'
— 2, — c. Barl. omits the words 'or the devil'
— 2, — c. The concluding words of the Canon in Barl. were originally, 'be he accursed,' but they are altered to 'he doth greatly err' by another hand.
— 2, — f. 'To him that will carefully peruse the Scriptures.' Barl.
— 2, — h. 'Ordaining by the very law of nature.' Barl.
— 3, l. 5. 'In the earth, that is mentioned in the Scriptures, although it was not then called' Barl.
— 3, n. n. 'And either.' Barl.
— 4, — p. 'Duly serve.' Barl.
— 4, — q. 'Besides the law of nature left in them.' This clause is omitted in Barl.
— 5, — t. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 5, — c. 'Priestly' Barl.
— 6, — f. 'Hidden from nature and in right manner.' Barl.
— 6, — g. 'Lawfully teach.' Barl.
— 7, l. 4. 'Ordering them by virtue.' Barl.
— 7, n. n. Barl. agrees here with *A* and *B.*
— 7, — q. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 8, — r. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 8, — s. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 8, — t. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 9, — x. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 9, — y. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 9, l. 9. 'Renewing unto them His promise' Barl.
— 9, n. b. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 9, — c. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 10, — e. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 10, — f. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 10, — g. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 10, — h. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 10, — i. Barl. agrees with *A.*
— 11, — m. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 12, — p. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 12, l. 15. 'Had fore-prophesied' Barl.
— 12, n. q. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 12, — r. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 13, — u. 'Of Reuben or Ephraem' Barl.
— 13, — y. Barl. agrees with *B.*
— 13, — z. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*
— 13, — b. In Barl. the arrangement of the Canons is the same as in *A* and *B.*
— 13, — c. Here Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*, except that it reads, 'offspring, or not without their choice . . . . or in dividing.'
— 14, — d. So Barl., reading however 'or that the people took then upon them.'
— 15, l. 3. 'Together into one body' Barl.
— 15, n. g. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B.*

[a] The editor is indebted for these various readings to the kindness of the Rev. W. F. Andland, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

P. 15, n. i. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 16, — m. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— last line. 'Without one chief head to govern them.' Barl.
— 16, n. n. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 17, — o. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 17, — p. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 17, l. 23. 'To chose a prince' Barl.
— 17, l. 25. 'And to their own destruction' Barl.
— 17, n. q. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 17, l. 27. 'When there was their greatest' Barl.
— 18, n. r. Barl. agrees with Auth. correct.
— 18, — s. Barl. agrees with *A* and *B*.
— 19, l. 5. 'Did foretell that it would come to pass, not only that the tribe of Judah should bear the sceptre, and that the kingdom of Judah' Barl.
— 19, — 9. 'That the sceptre or government.' Barl.
— 19, n. a. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 20, — c. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 20, — d. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 20, l. 16. 'And name them.' Barl.
— 20, l. 25. 'That they held their kingdoms.' Barl.
— 21, n. g. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 21, — i. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 21, l. 9. 'Diminishing their own' Barl.
— 21, n. j. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 21, l. 22. 'Of all the rest their predecessors' Barl.
— 22, n. o. 'Against any of them whom God had set over to rule them, which He Himself did not securely revenge. When the people had kings.'
— 23, — p. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 23, — q. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 24, l. 11. 'Or depose them' Barl.
— 25, n. t. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 25, — u. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 25, — x. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 25, — y. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 26, l. 1. 'If any man shall therefore' Barl.
— 26, n. b. Barl. agrees with *D*.
— 27, l. 7. 'Both the priests, the Levites, and the prophets.' Barl.
— 27, l. 2. 'And therefore if any man shall' Barl.
— 27, l. 25. 'properly subject to.' Barl.
— 28, l. 2. 'Sent unto them from God.' Barl.
— last line. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 30, n. h. 'That they neither bowed down unto them' Barl.
— 30, l. 15. 'If they endeavoured, as much as they could, to do that.' Barl.
— 31, l. 5. 'Made to themselves, or to blaspheme' Barl.
— 31, l. 11. 'Princes and governors.' Barl.
— 32, n. k. Barl. agrees with *A*, proceeding, 'After he was consecrated High-Priest, both he himself and his two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, did again amiss in burning the sin offering.'
— 32, — m. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 32, — n. 'He was in duty compelled to send' Barl.
— 32, — o. Barl. agrees with *A*, except that for 'priest had taken any pains,' it reads 'priests.'
— 34, — u. Barl. agrees with *A*, reading, however, 'High-Priests' for High-Priest.'
— 34, l. 18. 'And in some other things' Barl.
— 34, l. 28. 'As far as lawfully he might' Barl.
— 34, l. 31. 'But the priests.' Barl.
— 35, l. 1. 'Withstand the king' Barl.
— 35, n. y. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 35, — z. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 35, — a. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 35, — b. 'With an earthquake (as some learned men have thought, taking their grounds from the Scriptures.) he was thereby driven.' Barl.

P. 35, l. 14. 'As a viceroy.' Barl.
— 35, n. g. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 35, — h. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 36, l. 13. 'Any priests did resist.' Barl.
— 38, n. n. Barl. here agrees with *D*.
— 39, — o. Barl. agrees with *A*.
— 39, l. 31. 'Consequently in other cases.' Barl.
— 40, l. 1. 'Persons whosoever' Barl.
— 40, l. 13. 'That as godly prophets.' Barl.
— 40, l. 16. 'As much duty and obedience.' Barl.
— 42, l. 7. 'That the examples' Barl.
— 42, l. 10. 'Anointing and designing' Barl.
— 44, l. 9. 'Otherwise but an inferior priest,' Barl.
— 45, l. 11. 'They knew it was not' Barl.
— 45, l. 19. 'Certain that He did so,' Barl.
— 45, l. 26. 'Did thus choose and authorize.' Barl.
— 46, l. 21. 'The history of all the princes' Barl.
— 46, l. 28. 'Under colour of their examples' Barl.
— 46, l. 35. 'Lawful for any person whosoever.' Barl.
— 47, l. 12. 'Saying that God had called' Barl.
— 49, l. 29. 'And in carrying His own people' Barl.
— 51, l. 29. 'But not with that magnificence' Barl.
— 52, l. 1. 'And the said rulers.' Barl.
— 53, l. 15. 'By dealing in causes ecclesiastical.' Barl.
— 54, l. 3. 'That the High-Priests did easily oversway both their princes and the people' Barl.
— 54, l. 27. 'With the daughter' Barl.
— 55, l. 21. 'Albeit the kings.' Barl.
— 56, l. 14. 'And some other royal prerogatives.' Barl.
— 56, l. 23. 'Were miserably on every side' Barl.
— 60, l. 27. 'The walls of the inward court,' Barl.
— 61, l. 19. 'Nor would afterwards.' Barl.
— 62, l. 14. 'Arrogant sort of men' Barl.
— 62, l. 33. 'Or, for that it is said.' Barl.
— 63, l. 1. 'Should seek the law at his mouth' Barl.
— 63, l. 15. 'That the priests and the people.' Barl.
— 64, l. 19. 'The office of the High-Priest.' Barl.
— 64, l. 24. 'The love that they bare.' Barl.
— 66, l. 11. 'Qui hæc, adversus fata, suadeo.' Barl.
— 67, l. 6. 'Or of any other cause.' Barl.
— 67, l. 9. 'Or that rebellion.' Barl.
— 67, l. 18. 'Where we have spoken .... and the success thereof, we made no' Barl.
— 67, l. 24. 'That utter desolation. But it happened otherwise. Two factions' Barl.
— 72, l. 34. 'The titles of monarchs' Barl.
— 73, l. 5. 'Or thereby to impeach the mild and temperate regal government.' Barl.
— 74, l. 1. 'Amongst the Jews, that He ever committed.' Barl.
— 75, l. 22. 'Fell upon Cain, for killing.' Barl.
— 77, l. 22. 'Neither do we read that ever Aaron.' Barl.
— 78, l. 14. The words 'Placet eis' do not occur in Barl.

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